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Made in a late

JOURNEY

Through the

EMPIRE of *CHINA*,

And Publiſhed in ſeveral Letters.

Particularly upon the *Chineſe* Pottery and Varniſhing; the Silk and other Manufactures; the Pearl-Fiſhing; the Hiſtory of Plants and Animals. Deſcription of their Cities and Publick Works; Number of People, their Language, Manners and Commerce; their Habits, Oeconomy, and Government. The Philoſophy of *Confucius*. The State of Chriſtianity, with many other Curious and Uſeful Remarks.

By *LOUIS LE COMPTE* Jeſuit, Confeſſor to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, one of the Royal Mathematicians, and lately Miſſionary into the Eaſtern Countries.

Tranſlated from the Paris *Edition, and illuſtrated with Figures.*

London: Printed for *Benj. Tooke* at the Middle Temple Gate, and *Sam. Buckley* at the *Dolphin* over againſt St. *Dunſtans* Church in *Fleetſtreet*. 1697.

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A N
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Engliſh Tranſlation,

Directed in

A *LETTER* to Sir *G. M.* Baronet, and *W. M.* Eſquire,

Members of Parliament.

AMONG the various Productions of the Preſs none ſeem (in your Clear Judgments) more delightful and inſtructive, then the Relations of Voyages and Travels; I mean thoſe written by Men of Capacity and Sincerity, which lye in a ſmall Compaſs; for moſt Books are either Romances, Novels, or Hypotheſes; Panegyricks, Satyrs, or Burleſques (the one too commonly taken for Truths, as the others for *Heroicks*) which come forth either to eaſe an Hy-

pocondriack Spleen; or elſe to flatter Ambitious Powers, to raiſe Private Fortunes, or favour Particular *Factions:* Thoſe venemous Sorts of Vermine that infeſt Humane Societies, and ſpread ſuch Poyſons, as few Antidotes can reach, unleſs fetch'd from abroad, which ſometimes raiſe the Pulſe, and give the Blood a more generous Tincture; the World (like a Machine) being beſt underſtood, and manag'd, by taking it to pieces, viewing and comparing the ſeveral Parts together; from whence juſt Impreſſions may be taken with the greateſt and moſt perfect Idea's; ſo the *Greek Maſter* painted his *Ulyſſes.*

The Knowledge of Forreign Countries ſeems to be the Nobleſt School for the enlarging and cultivating the Mind of Youth, who being generally confin'd by Education and Cuſtoms at Home (which few ever live to Surmount and Conquer) to a narrow Sphere of Thought, are for the moſt part puff'd up, and choak'd for want of a free Air and a large Proſpect; hence it is that ſo many become unfit for Publick Buſineſs and Action, or even common Converſation, falling into Diſorders upon little Contradictions, and Starting at every Thing that lyes out of their way. *Imperitum eſt Animal Homo, ſi circumſcribatur Natalis Soli ſui Fine*, ſays *Seneca.* Such a One the Great *Homer* drew his *Telemachus.*

The Globe is compar'd to a true Glaſs, in which may be ſeen the different Faces of Nature, with the ſeveral Arts and Myſteries of Governments.

vernments. Every Climate affords new Scenes, wherein a Man may learn that the Harmony of the Universe consists in a wonderful Variety, which (as the Emperor of *Siam* once repartee'd upon the Jesuits) seems to have been set out by the most glorious *Creator* and *Governour* of all Things for his own immortal Praise. Therefore 'tis in vain for the *Collegium de propagandâ Fide*, and the Roman Catholick Courts, to labour on Earth, or expect from Heaven a general Uniformity in the Religion and Manners of Mankind, no more then in other Customs, Diets, Habits, and Commodities; However, their *Missionaries* ought not to be discourag'd in their Undertakings, for the Improvements of Geography, Natural and Civil History, Commerce, *&c.* bring Honour and Profit sufficient to reward their Pains, in case their Adventures upon Religion turn to no Account. The same Immense *Power* always has, and ever will be worship'd in different Forms, under various Figures, and *Idea's*. It seems to be a General Error amongst us, that many wise Nations adore meer Stocks and Stones, without any respect to the Supream *Divinity*.

Of all the Kingdoms of the Earth *China* is the most celebrated for Politeness and Civility, for Grandeur and Magnificence, for Arts and Inventions; which the Romish Priests are so sensible of, that they pass there under the Characters of Physicians, Painters, Merchants, Astrologers, Mechanicians, *&c.* and are receiv'd as such in the Courts of *Asia*, which are too fine to suffer o-

penly

penly the propagation of a ſtrange Religion; as ſome of the moſt pious *Miſſionaries* (over-heated with the Naked Truth) often find to their own Deſtruction; eſpecially when the *Brachmans*, the *Talapoins*, and the *Bonzes* begin to grow Zealous of their Maſquerades, and to ſee thro' their Diſguiſes.

But, you may perhaps demand (becauſe you do not uſe to take Things upon meer Recommendations without further Enquiry, and Examination) why the Bookſellers ſhould venture to print in Engliſh theſe *Memoirs* of *China*, ſeeing we have already ſo many Relations of that Country? To which they give this Anſwer, *viz.* That moſt of our Accounts of *China* are either fabulous, or Copies, and not comparable to this Original of theirs: Beſides, that vaſt Empire is ſo Fertile and Wonderful in all reſpects, that it will always furniſh freſh Materials for Diſcoveries, let the Travellers be never ſo ſagacious and induſtrious; few of whom will be found to deſerve ſuch a Character, unleſs Thoſe lately ſent at the *French* King's Expence, with a Stock of excellent Inſtruments, and with a ſufficient Fund for making uſeful Obſervations; amongſt theſe our *Author* was one of the Chief, and therefore the Reader may expect more from him, then what is already Extant in the printed Works of his Predeceſſors.

Marco

Marco Paulo, *Nicolo di Conti*, *Galeotto Perera* *, *Gaſpar de Cruz*, *Ferdinand Mendez Pinto*, *Gonzalez de Mendoza*, *Anthony de Andrada*, *Manuell de Faria Souſa*, *Pedro Cubero Sebaſtian*, and ſome others of the *Moreſco* Vein, run Whip and Spur into Knight Errantry, ſo familiar and even congenial to the *Italian*, but much more to the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Writers, that a thouſand *Don Quixots* with all *Cervante*'s Satyr will never be able to reform them; yet a Critical Reader may glean many pretty things from Them.

* See *Ramuſio Viaggi & Navigationi*, Printed at *Venice* in 3 *Vol. fol.*

The Accounts of ſome Learned Jeſuits (whoſe Order hath ſeen more of *China* then all the reſt of the *Europeans*) ſeem to be more judicious and authentick; eſpecially if we indulge them a little in the Story of their Religion. Among theſe we ought to mention with reſpect the Ingenious Fathers, *Ricci*, *Trigault*, *Semedo*, *Martini*, *Rhodes*, *Boym*, *Grueber*, *Adam Schall* (whoſe Letters are very conſiderable) Father *Greſlon*, Father *Rougemont*, with many other *Miſſionaries* of the Church of *Rome*, from whom *Kircher* took all his Materials; and *Monſieur Thevenot* in that part of his *Collections* relating to *China*, has only abridg'd ſome of their Diaries and Journals.

The Relation that *Linſchoten* gives of *China* is not equal to the other Parts of *Aſia*, which he himſelf ſaw; the ſame may be ſaid of *Mandelſlo*.

The

The *Dutch* Impreſſion of *Nieuhof*, and the *Pariſian* of *Magaillans*, are deſervedly moſt in eſteem for their *Chineſe* Obſervations, as well by their Exactneſs and Sincerity, as the choice of things they relate; the one being Secretary to a Solemn Embaſſy from *Batavia* to *Pekin*, and the other Reſident above Thirty years in many of the Provinces of *China*, where he made it his buſineſs to correct the Errors, and ſupply the Defects of all the Writers before him; but he did not live to publiſh his own Work, which afterwards came forth by Order of *Cardinal d'Eſtrees*.

As for our Country-man *Ogilby*, he only copy'd and compil'd without any diſcretion from *Purchas*, *Kircher*, and *Nieuhof*; but of all the Copiſts, the *Commentator* upon *Magaillans* has ſhewn the beſt judgment, ſo that indeed he might paſs for an Original Maſter-piece, having fill'd up the Poſthumous Fragments of that excellent *Father* with fidelity and accurateneſs.

There are great numbers of other Writers upon *China* among the Religious *Miſſionaries*, but they have rarely follow'd the Rule of Truth in their Relations of the State of Religion in that Kingdom (ſo difficult is it for Men to be honeſt in their own Trades and Callings) often forging falſe Miracles, multiplying Converſions, and compoſing ſuch *Legends*, as they thought moſt agreeable, without ever promulging the true Goſpel, or propagating the

the Catholick Faith; which hath been very ingenuously own'd by a famous Bishop of *Malaga*, by *Mounsieur Arnaud*, and many other worthy *Clergy-men* of the Church of *Rome*, who confess that some Orders of their Communion have prepar'd and preach'd several Systems of Christianity according to the Climates they travell'd; So in *China* the subtle *Jesuites* have adapted their Model to the Philosophy of *Confucius*, seldom or never Teaching the Crucifixion and Godhead of Christ, and frequently allowing the Worship of *Pagods*. Some of those *Politick Apostles* traffick wholly in *Chinese* Merchandize, others turn *Mandarins*, and become Ministers of * State, whereby they get Riches, Interest and Power, not only to drive away the rest of the *Religious Orders*, but all Christian Strangers whatsoever, that are not in the Secrets of their Empire.

* See the *Theatro Jesuitico*, printed at *Coimbre* in Fol. Also the *Morale Pratique des Peres Jesuites* in 8 Vol. 8°. particularly the second and third Parts.

'Tis computed that since the Year 1580, about 630 Jesuits, and 200 Priests of other Orders, have been sent out of several Parts of Christendom to *China*; half of which never landed in that Kingdom, and but very few of them ever return'd, being taken off either by Diseases, or intercepted by the *Dutch* in the Straits of *Sundy*, and *Malaca*, or else executed by the Civil Powers for disturbing the Publick Peace; however, I cannot but admire the in-

 defatigable

defatigable Industry and Policy of the Church of *Rome* in the Schemes and Projects, she lays, for reducing the whole World under her Dominion; which may be a Lesson to the rest of Christendom to be more unanimous and crafty, if they intend to stand their ground against such a *Church Militant*, as commands all the Catholick Legions, and observes a Discipline fit for Conquest.

But 'tis high time to come nearer the Letters here publish'd, the Author whereof was well prepar'd, and very willing to make Observations, Natural, Mechanical, Astronomical, and Civil, notwithstanding the Duty of his Religious Employment: He is pleas'd to begin his Journey where Father *Tachart*, and *Mounsieur Loubere* (whose Voyages from *Brest* to *Siam* have been already Translated into English) left off theirs, and so carries on the Itinerary to *Pekin* by way of Letters, rather then Diary.

'Tis well known the *French* Court hath been very curious of late (*fas est & ab Hoste doceri*) to improve Astronomy, Geography, Natural History, Commerce, and indeed all such Arts and Sciences (to the shame of some of their Neighbour) as prove more serviceable to Humane Life, and Empire, then all the Scholastick Cobwebs, Logical Quibbles, Metaphysical Phantomes, or Poetick Chimes. *Vox prætereà Nihil.*

Upon the first Foundation of this mighty French Monarchy, 'twas thought necessary to set up, and encourage divers sorts of Domestick Manu-

Manufactures, and to discourage all Forreign; to open Publick Schools for Navigation, Fortification, and the other Parts of Mathematicks; to found and endow several Academies; and of late to establish Missions for the remote Quarters of the World: out of all these many able Persons have been dispatch'd away under Royal Pensions to the most distant places of the World, there to observe the Heavens, Air, Water, and Earth; comparing their several Remarks in the *Academy*, and *Observatory* at *Paris*; of which we have already many admirable Collections extant in all * Volumes (some of great use to adjust the Longitude) from the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Coasts of *Malabar*, *Cormandel*, *Siam*, *Borneo*, *Malaca*, *Pegu*, *Manille*, *Macao*, *Canton*, *Nimpo*, *Nanquin*, *Cancheu*, *Fenken*, and *Pekin*; Besides from the Isles of *Cayenne*, *Panama*, and more are expected from *California*, and the South Seas.

* *Observations Physiques & Mathematiques envoyées de Siam. Avec les Reflexions de Messieurs de l'Academie, & Notes du Pere Goüye.* Paris 1688. *in* 8°.

Observations pour servir a l'Histoire Naturelle, & a la Perfection de l'Astronomie, & de la Geographie. Envoyées des Indes *& de la* Chine. *Avec les Reflexions*, &c. Paris 1692. *in* 4°.

Recueil d' Observations faites en plusieurs Voyages par Ordre de sa Majesté, &c. Paris 1693. *in Fol.*

The Persons generally sent are skilful in the Mathematicks, in the Art of Designing, in Natural Philosophy, and are always well provided at the *King's* charge with Materials fit for

ſuch ſort of Obſervations; as Compaſſes, Needles, Loadſtones, Dials, Teleſcopes, Microſcopes, Levels, Sextants, Quadrants, Pendulums, Barometers, Thermoſcopes, Hygrometers, Burning Glaſſes, Pencils, Anatomical Inſtruments, Tools for Drawing, Surveying, Collecting, Preſerving, *&c.*

The Prieſthood it ſelf hath not thought it below the Dignity of their Sacred Function to accept ſometimes of theſe Employments; and therefore 'tis that we have of late ſo many excellent Pieces in this kind from Men of Holy Orders, who have apply'd themſelves to ſuch ſort of Studies, as will render them renown'd in the Regiſters of Arts and Sciences, as well as in thoſe of Martyrs and Confeſſors.

Father *Thomas* has been pleas'd to promiſe his own Obſervations, and other Memoirs upon the undeſcribed Countries of *Corea*, and that part of *Tartary* lying between the *Chineſe* Wall, and *Muſcovy*; thro' which *Caravans* are ſaid to paſs yearly between *Moſco* and *Pekin* in the ſpace of four Months; for the Longitude of the Cities in *China* are found by many Aſtronomical Obſervations, made there, and compar'd with thoſe at the Pariſian Obſervatory, not to be ſo far Eaſtward by many Degrees as commonly placed in our Globes and Charts.

Father *Verbieſt*, Father *Grimaldi*, Father *Couplet*, *Pereira*, *Richaud*, *Fontanay*, Father *Beze*, *Noel*, *Bouchet*, *Gerbillon*, and ſome other Fathers *Miſſionaries*, have Treaſures of Obſer-

Observations and Draughts made by themselves and their Fellow Travellers in the Oriental Regions; The Priests, employ'd of late years in the Missions, being of a higher Rate in Knowledge then formerly.

The Performances of *Mounsieur Richer*, *M. Varin*, *Des Hayes*, and *De Glos*, in the African and American Plantations, deserve our Notice; where *Mounsieur Surian* (Physician at *Marseilles*) and Friar *Plumiere* have design'd and describ'd very elegantly the Vegetables and Animals; Neither is that noble Present to be pass'd by, which our Author made the Royal Academy, of the Pictures of *Chinese* Plants from the Life, together with a large new Map; which I suppose to belong to Dr. *Claudius*, mention'd by Father *Tachart* in his first Voyage to *Siam*.

Besides all these we may expect several curious and useful Remarks from the South Seas, of Father *Moralez*, Father *Van-Hamme*, Father *Ruggi*, and others; who are now settled upon the *Ladrones*, and the Isles of *Solomon*, with a Stock of necessary Instruments and other Materials, requisite in the making of Observations. An Account of *Borneo* is also promis'd by a *Portugueſe Mission*.

No less commendable is the late undertaking in *France* for the drawing a most exact Chart of that Kingdom from the Astronomical Observations of *Signor Cassini*, *Mounsieur de la Hire*, *Picard*, and others, made in the Ports and in-

land Parts; whereby it appears that the Limits of that Country have been extended much too far towards the Weſt, South, and North.

By theſe Ways and Means *Lewis* the XIV. will deſerve to be honour'd, and even Conſecrated in future Ages; ſuch Colours will give him Life and Beauty to all Poſterity, and perhaps may ſhade the *Deformities*, which the *Poet* paints in *Clotar*'s Court. We in *England* ought not to deſpair but that *Heroick Arthur*, who juſtly vies with the *Grand Monarch* in the fame of War, will alſo contend with him for the Glory and Empire of *Learning*, and diſpute every *Art* and *Science*, as the Ground in *Flanders*; which peradventure will equal, if not ſurpaſs, the praiſe of *Arms*. Then let the *Britiſh Homer* ſing his *Apotheoſis* with the ſame Charms, as in the *Prince*, and *King*.

I am ſure there is a vaſt Wit and *Genius* in our *Miniſtry*, capable of the greateſt Enterprize, *Nil deſperandum*——— and tho' at preſent a fatal Stop is put to the Growth and Propagation not only of *Letters*, but *Manufactures* amongſt us, and the Treaſure of Chriſtendom flows daily to the *Banians* and *Genteés*; yet a freſh Circulation and a new Life is in Nature, if we have but Spirit and Vertue to move in the right Channel.

But 'tis time to cloſe up this tedious Preface, which I thought neceſſary to ſpin out in the ſame Method that I formerly obſerv'd in my *Introduction* to the *Voyages* of Sir *John Narborough*,

rough, Captain *Wood*, *Taſman*, and *Marten*; not out of any Vanity or Inclination for Scribling, or of being ſtyl'd an Author; nor out of expectation of Applauſe or Reward (my Station in the World being below Envy, and juſt above Contempt) but purely out of good Will and Complaiſance to the Bookſellers (to whom I wiſh a proſperous Sale) and that I might own my ſelf to be one of your Admirers,

And Gentlemen,

Your moſt humble Servant.

THE AUTHOR's PREFACE.

I Know not of the two which to blame most, him that publishes hasty indigested Relations of his Travels, or the Reader that runs 'em over slightly and heedlesly. The Business of writing Voyages is not altogether so light a Task as most are apt to Fancy, it requires not only Wit and Judgment, to manage it successfully, but likewise Sincerity, Exactness, and a simple Insinuating Stile, and Learning besides; for as a Painter, to be a Master in his Art, ought to know the propriety and force of all sorts of Colours, so whoever undertakes a Description of the People, Arts and Sciences, and the Religions of the New World, must have a large Stock of Knowledge, and in a manner an Universal Genius. That's not all neither, he must have been an Eye-witness of most of the Actions and Things he reports, he must be skill'd in the Customs and Language of the Inha-

Inhabitants, he must have corresponded with those of the best fashion among them, and been frequently in the Conversation of their principal Officers: In a word, to speak with certainty and assurance of the Riches, Beauty, and Strength of an Empire, he ought to take an actual Survey of the Multitude of its Subjects, the Number and Scituation of the Cities, and the Extent of its Provinces, and be curious in searching after all the remarkable Rarities in the Country. I confess indeed this is something more laborious and expensive than to frequent the Company of the Virtuosi *at home, or supinely tumble over the History of the World by the fire-side, and yet after all their fatigue, Travellers of all Men are the least esteemed upon the score of their Writings.*

There's a set of jolly People that amuse themselves with what passes daily before their Eyes, and are little affected with News from remote Parts of the Globe. 'Tis grown a Maxim with others to reject all Forreign Stories for Fables; these value themselves upon their Incredulity, and are such strict Friends to Truth, that they never acknowledge any. Another sort again throw away a Book of this kind for a Miracle, or some extraordinary Accident, any thing out of the way (beyond their common prejudices) that they find it, as tho' Nature having exhausted all her Treasures upon our portion of Earth, could produce nothing uncommon elsewhere, or as tho' God's Power were more limited in the new Eastern Churches than among us.

Some there are too that run directly counter to

these

these, who enquire after nothing but Wonders, satisfied only with what raises their Admiration, they think all that's Natural flat and insipid, and if they are not rouz'd up with astonishing Adventures, and continual Prodigies, drop asleep over the best penn'd Relation; now to humor such Creatures, one had need cast the World into a new Figure, and give Mankind other shapes. 'Tis certain, so many different Tastes are not all to be pleas'd; hence Travellers when they come home are as hard put to it to gain a patient hearing from their own Country-men, as they were at first going abroad to make themselves be understood by Strangers. But indeed they are not always worth hearing, the emptiness or irregularity of their Relations, or else the Vein of Passion and Prejudice running through the whole, that turns a History into Slander; but above all, the boldness wherewith they sham the most ridiculous Tales upon us for credible Truths, justly distaste Men of Sence, and render suspected the more prudent and sincere Authors. Tho' ordinarily it falls out that those Travellers who impose upon other People were first deceived themselves, how many are there, who do but just touch at a strange Country, and imagine to be immediately inform'd of all that belongs to it, they step ashore, and scour about like famish'd Men, greedily catching at all that comes in their way, and so cram their Journals with idle popular Chat: upon this occasion a Spaniard said pleasantly of a certain Author, that instead of intituling his Book, A Relation of all the Considerable Rarities in the New World,

he

should rather have called it, An Account of what the Rabble of both *Indies*, the Moors, Cafres, and Slaves faithfully reported to me, in those Conferences which I duly held with them. *Others perhaps are more reserv'd, and then 'tis Ten to One they are naturally bent to magnifie every thing; and really when a Man has rambled five or six thousand Leagues, out of pure Curiosity, 'twould fret him after all to meet with nothing but what he has seen fifty times over in* Europe, *then without a special Caution one is apt to set too mighty a Character and Esteem upon the Climate, the Customs and the Wit of the People, and what at the bottom is most barbarous becomes most ravishing, now in writing to others what we admire before hand our selves, the Idea's are heightned in the Description, and in the end grow monstrous, and all this to tickle the Reader forsooth, or our own Vanity, with being first in a Relation. I have known some very scrupulous this way in appearance, but in effect no less wide of the Mark than their Neighbours, who stedfastly believe themselves honest in their Assertions, but most unlukily make an ill choice of Terms and Modes of Expression: To speak intelligibly, we read every day one or other that tell us of certain Kingdoms in the* Indies, *much after the rate that we talk of those in* Europe, *The Metropolitan Cities, the Counties, the Government of Frontier Places, the Palace, the Ministers of State, the Generals of Armies, and a hundred other Terms of that stamp, presently we think our selves at another* Paris, Ver-

Verſailles, *or in our formidable Armies; and when all comes to all, this ſame* Louvre *of a Palace is neither better nor worſe than a rambling ill contriv'd wooden Building; the Courtiers a Crew of ſorry Wretches half naked; the Vice-Roys it may be have fifteen or twenty petty Villages under their Government, ſcattered up and down in the Woods, and ſo of the reſt. Undoubtedly theſe Terms that repreſent ſuch grand Idea's to us, are very improperly uſed to ſignifie ſuch pitiful Kingdoms, that have have almoſt nothing common with ours, but the Name; 'tis my opinion we ought to manage them warily and skilfully, leſt we ſhould lie in telling the Truth. But when the Country we treat of has in good earneſt ſomething noble and ſingular in it, we are ſtill apter to miſcarry, then we are not content barely to draw Eſteem from our Readers, we covet their Admiration too; in this Caſe a Man muſt ſtand upon his guard againſt his own Evidence, and deal with it juſt as thoſe modeſt Perſons, who in their Judgment retrench half the Merit their own Imagination ſuggeſts to 'em, leſt they ſhould over-value themſelves. Upon the whole, we ought not to be ſo violently prepoſſeſs'd againſt Relations of Voyages, as to put good and bad under the ſame Condemnation; for as on one hand it were indiſcreet to take up with all that come out without Choice, Examination, or Diſtinction; ſo on the other hand, 'tis as fooliſh an Affectation to reject indifferently the Accounts of Travellers whoſe Diſintereſt, Condition, and Capacity recommend their Credit. For my part, notwithſtanding I*

have

have constantly cherished a steddy affection for Truth, I durst not venture to put together an entire Story of all that came to my knowledge during a long abode in the Empire of China, *apprehending lest the want of other Qualifications, necessary in such a Work, should hardly be atton'd for by that single Vertue; nevertheless, not knowing well how to contain my self altogether at my return from so far a Country, and being less able to forbear publishing the Progress of Religion in the East, I confess I have been extreamly delighted in communicating my self on that Subject to several Persons of Quality, well affected to our Holy Faith, and being under an Obligation to render an Account of my Voyage to some, or in Obedience to the express Commands of others; or lastly to make a Return for the Civility and good Offices done me by the rest, I wrote the following Letters, being an Abridgment of those particular Conversations they have honoured me with, which comprehend in great part the present State of* China, *and I conceived in publishing this Collection, not as a regular Universal Account of that vast Empire, but as Memoirs and Heads for a General History, they might not be unserviceable to those who might one time or other take up such a design; mean time I may well fear that the same things which seem'd tolerable in Discourse, will not pass so currantly upon a nearer view; Faults are ever easiest discovered in writing, and that loose Irregularity which makes up the pleasure of Conversation, will hardly be forgiven here: But to conclude, a Man that has*

has endeavoured Ten years together to forget his Mother Tongue, and to load his Memory with barbarous Words and uncouth Ideas, whatever he may have loſt another way, ought to be allowed the priviledge of writing ill, after we have cut the Line four or five times, methinks our Stile ſhould not be canvaſt by the Criticks, and for ought I know Politeneſs in a Miſſionary would be leſs edifying than Negligence.

THE

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THE

THE Present State OF CHINA.

A Letter to my Lord Pontchartrain, *Secretary of State to his most Christian Majesty.*

The Voyage from Siam *to* Pekin.

My Lord,

THO' Men generally take no little Pride in recounting their Travels, and that of *China* be the most entertaining to this part of the World, I could never yet be reconciled to the thoughts of writing a Formal Account of my Voyage thither. That Subject indeed is worn so threat-bare that People have little Curiosity after New Relations; and indeed the World is sufficiently taken up with the Business of the Times, the Wars,

Negotiations, and divers Movements *Europe* is in at preſent : take 'em off from enquiring into the Affairs of Remote Countries.

But you, my Lord, (whoſe Genius is as far extended as your Zeal, and who no leſs rejoyce at Victories obtained by Chriſt's Doctrine over Idolatry, then at thoſe by our Arms) will, I dare hope, give us his Miniſters a patient Hearing. I have already had the honour to be heard by you on this Subject at ſpare hours, and I may ſay, that beſides thoſe Divine Helps which ſupport us in all our Labours, nothing could more encourage our Induſtry then that Goodneſs with which you are pleaſed to countenance it.

The Project of ſending Miſſionaries skill'd in the Mathematicks, into the utmoſt parts of the World, was conceiv'd of that Glory for his Majeſty's Reign, and that Advantage to our Religion, that his Miniſters have ever uſed their beſt Endeavours to carry it on.

Monſieur *Colbert* not only brought the King to approve of the Deſign, but alſo himſelf gave Orders for the preparing of all neceſſary Inſtruments, for a conſiderable number of Mathematicians, who were all bound for *China*, ſome thro' *Muſcovy* and *Tartary*, others thro' *Syria* and *Perſia*, and the reſt on Board the Veſſels belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company.

His Death put ſome ſtop to this great Deſign, but the Marquis *de Louvois* no ſooner ſucceeded him in the Super-intendency of Arts and Sciences, but he did by Order from his Majeſty command our Superiours, to look out for Men, whoſe Zeal and Capacity, might enable them for ſuch an Undertaking ; for whom he procured all ſorts of Inſtruments, and furniſhed them with Money, Letters of Commendation, and in ſhort, all that might contribute to the Succeſs of the Enterpriſe.

Monſieur *De Seignelay* judging that theſe new

M ſſions

Missions needed the support of the Admiralty, desired they might be intrusted to his Care; but tho' Monsieur *De Louvois* gave up to him the Management of them, yet did he not wholly abandon them, but largely and bountifully contributed to the making their Journey the shorter, thro' *Poland*, *Russia*, *Siberia*, and the greater *Tartary* to the Eastern Ocean.

Thus, my Lord, has Providence led three great Men to forward so Noble a Work, the perfecting of which it has left to you. The several Reasons which induced them to it will, no doubt, be as prevalent with you, who are no less desirous of the Honour of Religion, the Glory of our King, and the Advantage of his Subjects, and no less careful in your Employments, which respect both to Arts and Sciences and Trade and Navigation.

Your Protection has hitherto been so Benevolent to those Zealous Missionaries, that they cannot doubt of a happy Success.

But besides this Acknowledgment, they are bound to give you an exact Account of their Actions, their Travels, and the Use they have made of his Majesty's Bounty. These Memoirs, my Lord, I offer to you on their behalf.

The King, about Ten years since, commanded Six of his Subjects, Jesuits, for *China*, with the Character of his Majesty's Mathematicians, that under cover of that Learning they might the easier insinuate the Gospel. I was one of them, and set Sail with the rest in the beginning of the Year 1685. in the same Ship on Board which was Monsieur *Chaumont*, sent by his Majesty on an Extraordinary Embassy to the Court of *Siam*.

Our Voyage thither was very fortunate, but the Season forbad our going farther, and we were detained there near a Twelve-month, till the time of year proper for our Design.

The K. of *Siam*, a Pretender to Aſtrology, deſired to be a Sharer in our Aſtronomical Obſervations. He admired above all our exactneſs in foretelling an Eclipſe of the Moon, and from that time had thoughts of keeping us at his Court. But having informed him what our Orders were, he conſented that Four of us ſhould depart for *China*, provided Father *Tachard* ſhould return to *France* to requeſt the King for more Mathematicians, and that I the whilſt ſhould remain with him.

Accordingly he went for *Europe*, and I continued at *Siam*, while the Fathers *Fontaney*, *Gerbillon*, *De Viſdelon*, and *Bouvet* took Ship for *Macao*, a ſmall City ſituate on the Point of an Iſland adjacent to *China*, where the Portugueze have a Fortreſs.

Father *Tachard* arrived ſafe at *Paris*, with the *Siamite* Ambaſſadors: But thoſe who were ſailed for *China*, were in a few days after their departure, ſurpriſed by a Tempeſt which put a ſtop to their Voyage; they were in a ſtout Veſſel of Monſieur *Conſtance's*, but it was ſo terribly ſhattered, that in a little time it began to be leaky.

The Shipwreck being inevitable, it was thought better to ſtrand on the Shoar with ſome hopes of Life, then by Loofing up againſt the Wind to keep the Sea and Founder in a deſperate Condition. So before Night they reached an unknown Land. The Ship often run upon Shoals, but did not ſplit, and with much ado they got to the Leeward of an Iſland near *Caſſomet* a Province of the Kingdom of *Siam*, bordering upon that of *Camboja*.

The Captain then deſpaired of proceeding on his Voyage, being fallen under a Wind, which according to the Seaſon was like to keep the ſame Corner for ſeveral Months, and hindred him from doubling the Cape of *Camboja*, the Ship being very much diſabled.

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The Missionaries more concerned at this loss of time than at the danger they had escaped, resolved upon returning to *Siam* by Land, that they might get on Board an English Vessel bound for *Canton*, which was to Sail about the beginning of *August*. They entered the Woods, in hopes to meet with a Town and some Guides that might conduct them, but they soon lost their way, and encountered no less Perils at Land then they had before met with at Sea. The great Rains had caused a Land-flood, so that walking barefoot thro' the Fields overflowed, an innumerable quantity of Leeches, and Musketoes so troublesome to Strangers, were their continual Torment. On the other hand great number of Serpents, Tigers, Buffles and Elephants, of which the Forests are full, kept them in continual Apprehension.

But their greatest Misery was want of Food; for the little Victuals they had brought out with them being soon spent, they had been starved had not Providence directed them to a small Village. Not that the Inhabitants could afford them much help, being themselves unprovided of all things; but they conducted them back again to their Ship, where they arrived after a Fortnights Wandring, half dead with Wearinesse and Hunger.

As for me I was almost in as ill a Case: I had obtain'd of Monsieur *Constance* that he should place me into a Convent of *Talapoins*, (so are their Priests called) for not one of them had yet been prevailed with to acknowledge *Christ*, tho' their Conversion might be an effectual Means to that of the whole Nation. I judged the best way to bring it about, would be a free Converse with them, Dressing as they did, and Living with the same Austerity. I had a President in the Mission at *Madura*, and all reason to hope for the like Success at *Siam*. But the Conspiracy of the *Malais* and *Macassars*, which happened at that

time gave Monſieur *Conſtance* ſo much trouble, that he had not the leiſure to think of me. The King who countenanced the Chriſtian Faith, and his Miniſter who was its chief Support, with all thoſe who profeſſed it, were in danger of being murthered in one Night, had not our *Redeemer* ſaved us from that Peril; but the Plot was diſcovered, and the Criminals brought to a condign Puniſhment.

This Accident was the Cauſe that the Fathers came back by Sea to *Siam*, before I was too far engaged in the New Life I deſigned to lead; and I yielded to their Intreaties that I would embark with them when the Seaſon ſhould permit, which I did the more willingly, becauſe it was about the time that Father *Tachard* was to return with a Recruit of Miſſionaries and Mathematicians.

On the 17*th* of *June* in the Year 1687. we ſailed for *Nimpo*, a conſiderable City and Haven in *Chekiam* a Province of *China*; for we thought it not fit to go to *Macao* as was deſigned the Year before, having been informed that we ſhould be no welcome Gueſts to the *Portugueze*.

I ſcarce believe, *My Lord*, that you are over curious of knowing how we ſteered our Courſe. Thoſe Journals wholly made up of *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North*, and *South*, and a thouſand barbarous Words which ſeem proper for no other uſe then Huffing and Hectoring the Winds, can ſcarce be reliſhed by ſo nice a Palate as yours. However, they are very uſeful to Seamen, and thoſe who make Navigation their ſtudy, would not find the Style unpleaſant. But I ſhall take another opportunity of giving you an Account of it, in offering you ſome Geographical Memoirs. Permit me then to wave this for the preſent, and to ſpeak only of what concerned our ſelves.

Spight of the King of *Siam*'s expreſs Orders for our good Treatment, God was pleaſed in his Wiſdom

to

to give us an Occaſion of Exerciſing our Patience. We were on Board a ſmall *Chineze* Veſſel, called a *Somme* by the *Portugueze*, without any Shelter againſt the Weather, and ſo ſtreightned for want of Room, that we could not lye at length: Placed near an Idol black with the ſmoak of a Lamp continually burning in its Honour, and (which was our great Eye-ſore) worſhipped each day with a Diabolical Superſtition. The Sun was directly over our Heads, and we had ſcarce any Water to quench our immoderate Thirſt, cauſed by the exceſſive Heat of the Climate. Three Meals of Rice were our daily Allowance, tho' the Captain I confeſs often invited us to eat ſome Meat with him, but that being always firſt offered as a Sacrifice to the Idol, we looked on it with more Horrour than Appetite. In this manner we ſpent above a Month, endeavouring, by our Patience and our Prayers, to inſpire thoſe Idolatrous People with an Eſteem for our Holy Religion, our little Skill in their Language not permitting us to do it by declaring its moſt Sacred Truths.

'Tis true we ſometimes, with the help of an Interpreter, attempted to convince them of the Abſurdity of that Worſhip their Education had unfortunately engaged them in. One day eſpecially they flocked about us; the Diſpute grew ſomething ſharp, and at length became ſo hot, that we were forced to give it over. All Seamen are generally very untractable. Theſe took great Offence at what we had ſaid of their Idol, and a ſhort while after came towards us, arm'd with Lances and Half-Pikes, with Looks that ſeem'd to menace us.

Having with ſome Impatience doubted what would be the Event, we found at laſt we had no Cauſe to fear. The Mariners had armed themſelves only to prepare for a Proceſſion in Honour of their Idol; perhaps to appeaſe the Anger ſhe might have conceiv-

ved at what in the Diſpute had been ſaid to her Diſparagement. I ſcarce believe there is a Nation more Superſtitious then the *Chineze* who worſhip the very Compaſs they ſteer by, continually cenſing it with Perfumes, and often offering it Meat as a Sacrifice. Twice a day regularly they threw little pieces of gilt Paper in likeneſs of Money into the Sea, as it were to keep it at their Devotion by that Salary. Sometimes they would preſent it with little Boats made of the ſame Stuff, that being buſied in toſſing and ruining them, ſhe might neglect ours. But when the unruly Element, maugre their Courteſie, would grow troubleſome, being, as they thought, agitated in an extraordinary manner by a Dæmon that governs it; They burned ſome Feathers, whoſe noiſom ſmoak and peſtiferous ſcent, were indeed more then ſufficient, had the Fiend been endued with Sence, to ſend him going, were he the Cauſe.

Once paſſing near a Hill on which one of their Temples is built, their Superſtition then out-did it ſelf; for beſides the uſual Ceremonies conſiſting in Meat-Offerings, burning of Candles and Perfumes, throwing little Baubles of gilt Paper into the Sea, and infinite ſuch other Fopperies, all Hands were at work for five or ſix hours together, in making a little Veſſel in the likeneſs of ours, of about four Feet in length. It was very artificially wrought, wanting neither Maſts, Tackling, Sails or Flags, it had its Compaſs, Rudder, and Shalop, its Arms, Kitchin-ſtuff, Victuals, Cargo and Book of Accompts. Beſides, they had daubed as many ſmall pieces of Paper as we were Men in the Ship, which were diſpoſed of in the ſame places we were in. This Machine being placed on two Staves, was with no little Ceremony, at the noiſe of a Tabor and a Brazen Baſon, raiſed up in view of all the Crew. A Seaman in a *Bonze*'s Habit was the Chief Man among 'em, playing ſeveral Apiſh Tricks

with

with a Quarter-ſtaff, and now and then ſhouting forth loud Huzza's. At length the Myſterious Toy was committed to the Waves, and eyed as far as ſight could reach, accompanied with the *Bonze*'s Acclamations, who roar'd with all his might. This ridiculous Entertainment diverted the Sailors, while we were ſtruck with a ſenſible Grief at the ſight of their blind Error, which it was out of our Power to cure.

An Accident happened ſoon after, which at firſt gave them leſs Pleaſure, but in the end proved an equal Diverſion to us all. The Mariners fancied they ſaw a Ship in a part of the Sea much infeſted with Pyrates. They had excellent Spying-glaſſes, thro' which they could perceive the Maſts, the Sails, nay ſome ſaw the very Tackling, and by the manner of her Sailing, it was plain ſhe deſigned us a Viſit. All were very diligent in putting their Ship in a Poſture of Defence; The *Chineze*, who of all Men love beſt to ſleep in a whole Skin, were in great Conſternation; and the Fear we ſaw painted in their Faces, while they made ready their Cimeters, Pikes, and Guns, (for they had no Canon) more terrified us than the fancied Enemy, which yet cauſed in us no little Apprehenſion; for indeed, I muſt confeſs, we were then grown as fearful, if poſſible, as the *Chineze* themſelves. Religion or Martyrdom was not then the thing in queſtion, we were in danger of being immediately ſtrangled by Villains who give no Quarter, for ſuch is their Cuſtom, which they would not have altered for our ſakes. The only Remedy would have been to have leaped into the Sea, and by drowning our ſelves deferred our End for a few Minutes; but the Medicine was ſomewhat violent, and we did not care for the Experiment. Our Proſpective Glaſſes were often made uſe of, and, to our no little ſurprize, the mighty Veſſel as it came near us leſſened, as did our ill-grounded Terror, for we now doubted whether it

was

was a Ship. At length it grew a Floating Island, then a Sea Horse, and then I know not what, till at last being in sight it proved to be a Tree, which a violent Wind had torn from the Coast. The Earth and Pebbles about its Root made it swim upright, so that its Trunk, which was very high, resembled a Mast, and some Branches spread on each side for a Yard, with lesser Boughs broken down for Ropes, had, with the help of the Wind and the Sea's beating about it (which formed a Tract not unlike that a Ship makes) thus causlesly alarm'd us; Besides that People who trembled as they looked thro' their Glasses, might easily be deceived.

The dreadful Enemy was no sooner known but the Preparations were given over, to their great grief, who desired nothing more then a Battel, and were heartily vexed at the Disappointment. But we much suspecting their Courage was affected, (for it appeared not till all the Danger was vanisht) thought not our selves safe till we were landed.

This was not the only Peril we were likely to encounter; for scarce were we in sight of *Emouy*, an Island of *China*, famous for the Commodiousness of its Harbour, and the abundance of Ships of all Nations which resort thither, when the sudden veering of the Wind, a Calm that followed, and black Clouds which on every side darken'd our Horizon, made the Pilots fear the approach of some *Typhon*, than which nothing is more terrible in the Seas of *China* and *Japan*; for unless the Captain be well skill'd, the Crew numerous, and the Vessel stout, their ruin is most certain. This *Typhon* is a furious Wind, or rather a blowing of all the Winds at once; so that the Waves confusedly rolling one upon another, beset a Ship on all sides, and tosses it after an extraordinary manner. This Wind is so violent, that there is no bearing any Sail, and so obstinate, that the third day scarce sees the

end

end of it. At first the Seamens Pains and Industry withstand the Storm, but continual Labour tires and disheartens them; they yield to the over-ruling Winds, the Masts break, the Rudder is carried off, and the Ship founders; or if she be so well built as to sustain the Fury of the Waves, she splits against a Rock, and not a Man escapes.

Four days had been spent in expectation of the like Fate, and the dreadful Omens increased, when it came into our Minds to address St. *Francis Xavier*, whose Miracles had once rendred those Seas so famous. We prayed him to divert the Tempest, and inforced our Prayers by a Vow. Scarce were we off our Knees, but whether by a Miracle or the ordinary Course of Nature, there blew a favourable Gale of Wind, which carried us thro' some Islands into our desired Port.

I never saw any thing so Frightful, as that infinite number of Rocks and Desert Islands thro' which we were to pass. The Channels are in some places so narrow, as not to exceed ten Paces in breadth, to the great danger of those who Sail thro' 'em: We also steered thro' a pretty wide Bay, in which the *Chineze* observe an exact Silence, for fear, say they, of disturbing a neighbouring Dragon, and made us follow their Example. I know not how they call it, as for us, we named it the *Dumb Man's Bay*.

Having spent some time among those horrid Rocks, we at last had sight of a little City they call *Tim-hai*, that is, *Sea's Limit*, situated at the Mouth of the River, up the which we tided, and dropt Anchor three Miles higher, near the City of *Nimpo*, a sight of which we so earnestly had wisht for, during a Six and thirty days Navigation, which the continual Danger and Hardships we were exposed to, had rendred very tedious.

It was with no little Joy that we reached that Land,

in

in which we had, during so many years, long'd to preach the Gospel. It's sight inspired us with an unusual Zeal, and the Joy of viewing that happy Soil which so many good Men had Consecrated by their Labours, we thought a large amends for ours.

But tho' we were so near the City, it was not so easie for us to enter it. *China* is a very Ceremonious Country, wherein all Strangers, but especially the *French*, need have a good stock of Patience. The Captain of our Vessel thought fit to hide us, and on our arrival we were let down into the Hold, where the Heat which increased as we came nearer the Land, and several other Inconveniencies we lay under, made our Condition almost insupportable. But spight of all Caution we were found out, an Officer of the Customs spied us, and having taken an Account of the Ship's Cargo, set a Man in her, and withdrew to let his Master know it. That *Mandarine* who holds his Commission immediately from Court, and is therefore much respected, ordered us to be brought before him, whom we found in a large Hall assisted by his Assessors and other inferiour Officers, having been waited on thither by a multitude of People, who there are more curious of seeing an *European*, then we should be here of viewing a *Chineze*.

No sooner were we enter'd, but we were admonished to kneel and bow our Heads nine times to the ground, that being the Custom in those Parts of doing Obeisance to the Prime *Mandarine*, who in that Quality represents the Emperor's Person. His Countenance was very Severe, and bore a Gravity that challenged Veneration, and a Dread, which increased at the sight of his Executioners, like *Roman* Lictors, attending with Chains and great Sticks, ready to bind and cudgel whom his *Mandarineship* should think fit.

Having paid him our Devoirs, he asked us Who we were, and what was our Errand. *My Lord*, (answered

ed we, by the means of our Interpreter) *we have heard in* Europe *that several of our Brethren, and particularly Father* Verbiest, *laboured with success to spread the Knowledge of our Holy Religion in these remote Parts; The same Zeal has moved us, and the Noble Idea we have framed to our selves of this Empire, and of the Wit and Politeness of its Inhabitants, has prevailed with us to procure them the only thing that is wanting to compleat the Grandeur of so flourishing and renowned a Nation, to wit the Knowledge of* THE ONLY TRUE GOD, *without which it cannot be truly Great. We have besides understood how kind his Imperial Majesty has been to them, and hope his* Mandarines, *who know his Intentions, will be so favourable as not to molest us.*

This Declaration seemed something bold, in a Province where our Religion was scarce tolerated, and in a City, where there was not one Christian. But we were unacquainted with these Circumstances, and had thought that since the Freedom of Trade had been granted, Strangers might come and settle there, which is directly opposite to the Laws of the Land. The *Mandarine*, who must needs be surprised at the Liberty we took, dissembled his Thoughts, and as if he approved of our Zeal, told us it was true the Emperor had a particular Esteem for Father *Verbiest*, whose Merit was well known throughout the whole Empire, that as for himself he was very desirous to serve us; *But*, continued he, *I must first advise with the Governor, and we shall consider of it together: In the mean while return to your Ship, where you shall hear further from us.*

Some days after the General of the Militia in and about the City, which might consist in about fifteen or twenty thousand Men, was willing to see us, and entertained us very kindly, insomuch that when we left him to wait upon the Governor, he sent an Officer to desire him that he would use us kindly, assuring him we were very honest People. The Gover-

nor

nor expreſſed ſome Conſideration for us, but ſaid he could determine nothing in our Caſe till he had firſt conferred with the Chief Officers of the City; ſo that we were forced again on Board our hated Ship, which ſeemed to us a very ſevere Priſon.

Moſt of us were ſick, but *Our Lord,* who permitted theſe Delays to try our Patience, did at laſt ſoften the hardened Hearts of theſe Infidels, who took Compaſſion on us. Eight days being ſpent in Conſultations, the *Mandarine* of the Cuſtoms held his Court in a Houſe not far from the Port, where his Clerks uſually kept their Office. There having ſent for us and our Goods, being ſeveral Bales of Books, Images, and Mathematical Inſtruments, they opened but three of our Trunks, without demanding any Cuſtom; and his Lordſhip told us we might lodge in the Suburbs till they had heard from the Viceroy, to whom the Governor had wrote concerning us. We thankfully accepted of his Civility, and in our new Habitation enjoyed a Reſt we ſtood in great need of.

Permit me, *My Lord,* before I go on, to give you a general Deſcription of that great Empire, framed according to the Obſervations of Ancient Geographers, rectified by thoſe we have ſince made with much Care and Exactneſs.

CHINA, which the Inhabitants call *Tchoum-coeuré,* the *Middle Kingdom,* becauſe they formerly thought themſelves ſeated in the midſt of the World, is divided into fifteen very large Provinces. *Quamtom, Fokien, Chekiam, Nankin, Chanton* and *Pecheley* lye along the Eaſtern Ocean; from South to North. And from North to South on the Weſtern ſide, are extended *Chanſi, Chenſi, Sout-choüen, Yunnan* and *Kouanſi,* and then *Kouei-tchéou, Kianſi, Houquam* and *Honan,* are locked in by the other eleven, and form the midſt of the Empire, which a Channel divides from *Japan* and the Iſland

Iſland *Formoſa*, and a very long wall from *Tartary*.

Here, *My Lord*, I muſt beg your Patience awhile, to give you an exact account of its Situation, and put you in mind of two conſiderable Faults Geographers are guilty of. The firſt is, that they have miſplaced the whole Province *Leanton* within the Wall, whereas it is undoubtedly without, tho' it ever made part of the *Chineze* Dominions. This is Matter of Fact, and whoever queſtions it needs but to take a Journey thither, as we did, to be convinced. The ſecond is, that they place the whole Empire five hundred Leagues more Eaſtward than it really is; this is not ſo palpable a miſtake as the laſt, but is by our Obſervations clearly demonſtrable; ſo that *China* is much nearer *Europe* then had always been thought.

Could ſucceeding Obſervators but bring it each Journey ſo many Leagues nearer, our Voyages would ſoon be ſhortned, and thoſe who are ſo fond of ſeeing unknown Countries, might with eaſe ſatisfie their Deſires; but the miſchief is that it is out of their power; and I dare ſay, our Obſervations and thoſe of the Royal Academy of Sciences, will ſcarce be out-done; unleſs M^r *V*——— who has ſo much inveighed againſt our Manner of Proceeding herein, gives himſelf that trouble; then indeed I ſhould not deſpair (did he give us a Map of his Travels) of ſeeing *China* beyond *Japan*, or *Japan* near *Mexico*.

Beſides theſe two Eſſential Blunders, they have failed in the Situation of each ſeveral City; but a more particular Account would be too tedious to inſert here, and may beſides be expected from Father *Gouye* a Mathematician of our *King's Colledge*, with whom I have left our Geographical Obſervations, which he will ſhortly produce to the World. However, my Lord, be pleaſed that I give you the true Extent of the Empire. From the City of *Canton*, which we place a little above the 23 Degree to *Pekin* which

which lyes in the 40th, there are from North to South 17 Degrees. But we may reckon 18, because beyond *Pekin* and *Canton* to the outmost Bounds is 20 Leagues more: These 18 Degrees amount to 450 Common Leagues, and are the entire Length of that Country. Its Extent from East to West, is little less; so that on the whole, *China*, which is almost of a Circular Figure, is very near Fourteen hundred Leagues in Circuit. This Account, *My Lord*, I can warrant to be just, and grounded on very exact Remarks.

You see, *My Lord*, that I have left out the Islands *Formosa*, *Haynan*, and others of less Note, (which of themselves would make a very great Kingdom) as also all the Province *Leauton*, because it is without the Wall. As for the *Corea*, *Tunquin*, and *Siam*, they depend indeed on *China* so far, as that they pay a Tribute to that Crown, and that their Kings, at their admission, are Confirmed by its Emperor; but they are separate Kingdoms, and differ much from that of *China*, which whether in respect of the Product and Fertility of its Soil, or the Beauty and Number of its Cities, the Wit, Politeness, Religion or Manners of its Inhabitants, is quite another thing. The *Chineze* know it, and are so proud of it, that they call all the rest Barbarous Nations, taking great care in their Marriages not to match with them, or any of the other *Indians*, and fearing nothing more then that their mean Blood should run in a Noble *Chineze's* Veins.

I also omitted a great part of *Tartary* which belongs to this State, to the great increase of its Power, for the *Tartars* are Valiant, and withal Men of Sence; and besides, tho' *Tartary* be full of Woods and Sandy Deserts, yet it is not wholly unfruitful; those fine Furs of which they rob their *Zibelines*, *Foxes*, and *Tigers*, a great diversity of Simples useful in Physick,

ſick, and the fine Horſes which come from thence, are Commodities *China* could not be without. Yet tho' they reap ſo great a Profit by it, it cannot be imagined what a Vexation it is to them to be ſo ſtrictly united and mixt with that Nation; and one muſt be well acquainted with the Exceſs of their Vanity, and of the Conceit they have of their Grandeur, to know how grievouſly the *Tartarian* Conqueſt has humbled them. I queſtion not, *My Lord*, but you have heard of it, but perhaps have not had the leiſure of inquiring into Particulars, and therefore a ſhort Account of that great Revolution may not be unwelcome.

One of the Petty Kings of the Eaſtern *Tartary* (for there are not a few) whoſe Subjects called *Mouantchéou*, had ſettled a Trade near the Long Wall, having complained at *Pekin* of ſome Knaveries committed by the *Chineſe* Merchants, and having received no Satisfaction, reſolved to right himſelf, and entered the Province of *Leauton* with a numerous Army. The Emperor preſently ſent ſome part of his Forces to oppoſe him, and the War continued ſome time, with equal advantage. But one *LI* a *Chineze* took that Opportunity to hatch a Rebellion in the Provinces which were moſt remote from Court. Great numbers of Malecontents flocked about him, who having made themſelves Maſters of the greateſt Cities, like a Torrent overflowed the whole Country, driving all down before them.

The Sacred Majeſty of their Emperor could not ſave *Pekin* from their Fury, the Rebel who knew the beſt Forces were drawn out of it, marched directly to attack it. There was indeed a Garriſon of Seventy thouſand Men, but moſt gain'd upon by the practiſes of *Li*'s Emiſſaries; ſo that while ſome with a pretended Zeal perſwaded the Prince to remain in his Palace, others open'd the City Gates to the Traitor,

tor, who ſolemnized his Entry by a Cruel Slaughter. The unfortunate Monarch finding himſelf betrayed, would have marched out againſt him with Six hundred Guards who ſtill remained with him, but at the mentioning of this Heroick Propoſal their Hearts failed 'em, and they ungenerouſly abandoned him. Then knowing no greater Evil then that of falling quick into the Hands of his Enemies, he retired into a Garden with an only Daughter he had, and having wrote with his Blood theſe words on the bordure of his Veſt, *My Subjects have baſely forſaken me, ſpend thy Rage on my Body, but ſpare my People.* He firſt ſtabb'd the Princeſs, whoſe Tears muſt needs have rent a Heart of Flint, and then hang'd himſelf on a Tree; more Unjuſt to his Daughter, and Cruel to Himſelf, then could have been the moſt barbarous Foe.

The Emperor being dead, all bowed to the Uſurper except *Ouſanguey*, (whom the late Prince had intruſted with the Command of the Forces he had ſent againſt the *Tartars*,) who never would acknowledge him, and choſe rather to pull down his Tyranny then ignobly to accept of a ſhare in it. The new Monarch having in vain beſieged him in the Province *Leauton*, to engage him to Surrender himſelf, ſhewed him his Father loaded with Irons, proteſting he would put him to Death in his ſight, if he did not immediately ſubmit. But that generous Lord more Faithful to the Memory of his deceaſed Prince then tender of his Father's Life, ſuffered the Duty of a Subject to prevail over of that of a Son, and ſeeing that Blood ſpilt of which his once was Part, reſolved to dye or revenge at once his Fathers and his Emperor's Death. He made his Peace with the *Tartar*, who having joyn'd him, no ſooner enabled him to Cope with his Enemy, but he marched againſt him. But the Tyrant, whoſe Cowardize was even greater then his

his Cruelty, durſt not appear againſt thoſe two Armies. He fled to *Pekin*, where having burned the Palace, and all that had not periſhed at his firſt Entry, he retired into the Province of *Chenſi*, loaded with the Spoil of the Empire and the Curſe of all. He was purſued, but in vain, for he met with ſo private a Retirement, that all the Art of Man could never find him out.

In the mean while the *Tartars* entered *Pekin*, and ſo impoſed upon the poor *Chineze*, that of themſelves they begged their new Gueſts to take care of their diſtreſſed State. The others too Cunning not to improve ſo favourable a Hint, whether by Force or Policy, are ſince grown abſolute Maſters of it. And here it is hard to determine which is moſt to be wondred at, the Courage and Conduct of that Nation, which gave them Succeſs in ſo Noble an Enterprize, or the Supineneſs or ill Management of the *Chineze*, who thus baſely ſubmitted to a People ſo inconſiderable for their Number, that they would have been aſhamed not long before to own them for their Subjects. So true it is we ought not to look on any thing as beneath us, ſince all Temporal Grandeur is ſubject to Change, and that nothing is Conſtant in this World but Inconſtancy.

The Tartarian King *Tſouté* had not the leiſure to enjoy his Conqueſt; ſcarce had he taken Poſſeſſion but he died, leaving the Adminiſtration of the Government, and Care of his Son, who was then but Six years old, to his Brother. This Brother of his, named *AMAVAN*, conquered all the Provinces which had not yet ſubmitted; a Prince deſervedly admired, not only for his Valour and Conduct, ever attended with Succeſs, but alſo for his Fidelity and Moderation. For the young Prince being come to Age, he diſcharged his Truſt, and took as much Care to ſecure him in the Empire, as he had done to Conquer it for him.

This Union of the two Nations has made one Empire of a prodigious Extent, for tho' all *Tartary* does not belong to *China*, yet moſt is Tributary to it. Inſomuch that the great and mighty CHAM, to whom the *Chineze* themſelves paid Tribute, is dwindled away to nothing. But I do not wonder how we in *Europe* could be miſinformed in this Point, ſince Monſieur *Conſtance* himſelf, who ſo frequently converſed with them, knew no better. I know not upon what Reports he had credulouſly taken up a Report that *Tartary* obeyed one ſole Emperor, from whom the *Chineze* defended themſelves only by Preſents and Money. This will make me take more care for the future how I credit Relations which are grounded on Common Fame.

Since the Peace between *Ruſſia* and *China*, it is eaſie to give the true length of the whole Empire, for on that occaſion the Bounds were fixed by Conſent to the 55th Degree, the reſt of the Land ſtretching from North to Eaſt remaining ſtill undecided by that Treaty. So from the moſt Southerly Point of *Haynan* to the utmoſt Limits of that part of *Tartary* which belongs to the Emperor of *China*, may be reckon'd above 900 Leagues. Thoſe Lands are not alike fruitful, but all may yield Religion a plentiful Harveſt, and were all the Miſſionaries in the World employ'd in ſo vaſt a Field, it would yet want for Reapers.

We were well informed at *Nimpo* of the Good we could do there, and were ready to take a Spiritual Poſſeſſion of the Promiſed Land, when we had intelligence that the Viceroy of that Province, was much offended at our having been ſuffered to Land, and was reſolved to ſend us back to the *Indies*. He wrote indeed a ſharp Reprimand to the Governor of *Nimpo*, and at the ſame time an Account of what had paſſed to the Grand Tribunal of *Pekin*, which is entruſted

entrusted with the Care of Foreign of Affairs, and ever was averse to the Christian Religion. He did it so partially, that tho' he was well acquainted with our Design, he represented us as five *Europeans*, who for some Private Ends designed to settle there, in opposition to the Fundamental Laws of the Realm; so that the Court decreed we should be banished, and, according to Custom, presented an Order to that Effect, to the Emperor, for his Signature.

Had this Order been confirmed, we had been undone, and ten to one but the *Mandarines* at *Nimpo* had been so too, for treating us so favourably. The Viceroy, who bore as great a Love to our Money as he did Hatred to our Belief, would have seized our Bales, and as a Punishment on the Captain of our Ship, Confiscated his Merchandizes, and ordered him forthwith to be gone, and take us along with him; so that this Man, whose Ruin we should have occasioned, would certainly have thrown us overboard.

Our Peril was certain, had we not prevented it by our Care in writing, as we were in Duty bound, to Father *Intorcetta* an Italian Missionary, and Father General of our Order in those Parts. Father *Fontaney* had also given Father *Verbiest* notice of our Arrival, desiring him that he would instruct us what we had to do. The Father had all the reason in the World to leave us to our selves, for by taking us under his Protection, he exposed himself to the Anger of the Viceroy of *Goa*, and the Governor of *Macao*, from whom he had received Letters, which were neither conformable to the King of *Portugal*'s Intentions, nor to Christian Charity. But who could have expected that a Man, ever ready to Sacrifice his Life for the Infidels Salvation, should have looked unconcernedly on, while his Brethren, who were come from the remotest parts of the Earth to assist him in

his Task, had miſerably periſhed. When he received our Letters the Emperor was in *Tartary*, ſo that he was forced to write to a Friend at Court, that he would inform his Majeſty of our Arrival, and cauſed his Letter, by a wilful miſtake, to be put into a Pacquet which he knew would be delivered into the Emperor's own Hands. It happened as he deſired, the Emperor opened it and read it, ſo that being well informed of all the Truth, when the Tribunal's Order was delivered to him, he anſwered, That he would conſider of it at *Pekin*, and remained there a Fortnight longer a hunting. That Court was ſurprized at the Delay, it being Cuſtomary for the Prince, in three days time, either to Sign or Cancel theſe kind of Writs. Father *Verbieſt* was no leſs impatient to know the Fate of his Letter and the Emperor's Reſolutions; and as for us, we endeavoured by our Prayers to obtain *His* Favour who Rules the Hearts of Kings.

Father *Intorcetta*, our Superiour, who beſt knew our ill Circumſtances, did by Publick Prayers in his Church at *Hamt-chéou*, beg *God* to deliver us out of them; and firmly believing that the Cry of innocent Babes is very prevalent with his Divine Majeſty, gathered all the Chriſtian's Children from Six to Ten together into the Church, where lying proſtrate on the Ground, they unanimouſly lifted up their harmleſs Hands to Heaven, ſaying, * *Pour out thine Indignation, O Lord, upon the Heathen that have not known thee, and upon the Kingdoms that have not called upon thy Name; but defend thoſe who worſhip thee, and deliver not unto their Enemies thy Servants, who come hither from the Extremities of the World to confeſs thy Holy Name, and to ſhew forth thy Praiſe.* Theſe Prayers were

* Effunde Iram, tuam in Gentas quæ Te non noverunt, *Pſal.* 58.

Ne tradas Beſtiis animas confitentes tibi, *Pſal.* 73.

were accompanied with the Tears of the whole Congregation, eſpecially with thoſe of Father *Intorcetta*, who having been ſo happy as to ſuffer Chains, Priſons and Baniſhment for his Saviour's ſake, was moſt fit to obtain the Bleſſing we begged for.

The Emperor was no ſooner returned at *Pekin*, but Father *Verbieſt* informed him that we were his Brethren, and by our Skill in the Mathematicks, might be uſeful to his Majeſty. To which he anſwered, *If it was ſo, he ſaw no Cauſe why he ſhould Expel us out of his Dominions.* He Summoned his Privy Council, to which the Princes of the Blood are admitted, and with their Advice and Conſent, Decreed we ſhould all be honourably ſent for to Court. An Order to that Effect was ſent to the *Lipou*, (the ſame Tribunal which had preſented the Writ againſt us) and by them tranſmitted to the Viceroy of *Hamtchéou*: So that by an eſpecial Providence, he who had endeavoured to turn us ſhamefully out of *China*, was himſelf obliged to introduce us, and that with more Advantage, than, had he been our Friend, he could have procured us. His Vexation was the greater, becauſe without doing us any Harm, he had run the riſque of incurring the Emperor's Diſpleaſure by his falſe Informations. It was indeed no little Mortification to him; and it was a Fortnight before he would acquaint us with our good Fortune.

In the mean while the Stay we made at *Nimpo* gave us an opportunity of improving our Acquaintance with the *Mandarines*. Some ſent us Preſents, others invited us to their Houſes, and all in general were very kind to us. We indeavoured to make uſe of this opportunity in converting them from Idolatry, but it is hard for Souls wholly buried in Fleſh and Blood, to favour the Things which are of God. However, the Governor of the City made one Step towards it, which gave us great Hopes: It was this.

They had for five Months time been afflicted with a continual Drought, ſo that their Rivers, and the Channels they cut out into their Land to water it, were now quite dry, and a Famine much apprehended. The Prieſts had offered numberleſs Sacrifices, and the *Mandarines* left nothing undone which they thought might Appeaſe the Anger of the Gods. They had often asked us what Methods we uſed in *Europe* in ſuch Caſes; and being anſwered, that by Humiliation, Penitence, and the Fervency of our Prayers we moved Heaven to Compaſſion, they hoped by the like Means to procure their Idols Pity; but alas, they called upon *Gods that have Ears and cannot hear:* So the Governor tired with Delays, reſolved to worſhip the only God whom all Nature obeys. Having underſtood that in our Houſe we had a pretty handſome Chappel, in which we every day celebrated the Sacred Myſteries of our Religion, he ſent to us to know if we would permit him to come in State, and joyn his Prayers with ours. We anſwered we deſired nothing more than that he ſhould worſhip as we did, and that all the City would follow his Example; and aſſured him moreover, that if he begged with Faith and Sincerity, he ſhould undoubtedly obtain. We preſently went to work to put our Chappel in order, and make all things ready to Solemnize his coming, when to our great ſurprize his Secretary came to tell us, That his Lord would be with us the next day very early, being neceſſitated to meet at Eight the ſame Morning at a neighbouring Hill, where with ſome *Mandarines* he was to offer a Sacrifice to a *Dragon.* In anſwer to this unexpected Meſſage, we ordered our Interpreter to wait on him, and make him ſenſible that the Chriſtian's God was a *Jealous God*, who would not allow of his paying to any others the Honours due to Himſelf alone; that his Gods were Statues or Creatures

that

that had no Power to help themſelves nor him; and that we humbly craved him to deſpiſe thoſe idle Fancies, fit only to amuſe a credulous ſenſleſs Mob, but far beneath a Man of his Sence and Merit, and to truſt in the Only God of Heaven, whom his Reaſon alone muſt convince him to be the True one. I really believe he was almoſt perſwaded, but he had engaged himſelf to the *Mandarines*, and for ſome worldly Reſpect durſt not break his Promiſe; ſo he worſhipped his Idols, whom, doubtleſs he had no Faith in, and withdrew from the Only True God, of whoſe Being he was inwardly convinced.

Then, *My Lord*, moved with Indignation at their Blindneſs and the Devils Tyranny, ſome of us thought of imitating what St. *Francis Xavier* had done on ſome like occaſion, by erecting a Croſs in the City under theſe Conditions: Firſt that we would prevail with Heaven to grant the Rain they ſtood in ſuch want of: And ſecondly, that if we did, they ſhould pull down their Idols, and own That God who ſhould have been ſo favourable, as to grant them their Requeſt. Our Minds were different, as was our Zeal: Some full of Lively Faith, which the miraculous and continual Support of Providence, thro' the ſeveral Perils we had encounter'd, had inſpired them with, could not queſtion the Succeſs of ſo Bold, but Holy an Undertaking: Others not ſo Zealous, but perſwaded that Prudence ought to be our Guide, where the Inſpiration is not Evident, were of Opinion nothing ſhould be hazarded which failing might Expoſe our Religion. So we were content to mourn within our ſelves, and beg of *God* not that he would give them Rain, but that Celeſtial Fire which *Our Saviour* hath brought into the World, and deſires all Nations may be inflamed with.

While we were thus busied in promoting the Interest of our Religion, the Viceroy was no less in thinking how to Execute the Orders he had received from Court. He left our Journey as far as *Hamtchéou*, to the Governor's Care, who provided Boats for us, and commanded an inferiour *Mandarine* to attend us, that we might lack for nothing. We performed it in five days time, without meeting with any of those Accidents which Strangers there, are subject to when they are thought to carry things of value with them. The Christians at *Hamt-chéou* were lavish in the Expressions of their Affection to us. They came in Crouds to the River, whence we were carried as in Triumph to their Church, with more Kindness perhaps then Prudence. For they had, unknown to Father *Intorcetta*, provided for each of us an Elbow-Chair, borne by four Men, and attended by as many, into which we were obliged to suffer our selves to be set, not knowing what they meant, for our little skill in their Language did not permit us to learn it from themselves. Having locked us in, we were forced to make our Entry as they would have it, which was in this manner. A Musick of ten or twelve Hands with some Trumpets led the Van; next came some Horse and Foot, the former bearing several Standards and Flags, and the latter armed with Launces and Pikes; and next to these four Officers who supported a large Board varnished with Red, on which these words were written in large Golden Characters, *Doctors of the Heavenly Law, sent for to Court.* We came in the Rear, surrounded by a throng of Christians, and Gentiles whom the Novelty of the Show had drawn thither. In this mortifying Pomp we went thro' the whole City, being a long League in length, vexed that we had not foreseen their Indiscretion, and resolved to reprimand them for it. Father *Intorcetta* waited for us in the Church-

Church-door, whence he carried us to the Altar. There having nine times bowed our ſelves to the Ground, and returned Thanks to the Good God, who thro' ſo many Hazards, had, in ſpight of our Enemies, brought us to the Promiſed Land, we returned to the Chief of the Chriſtians. Theſe we deſired the Father to acquaint, that we were not unthankful of their Love, nor ill ſatisfied with their Zeal for God's Glory, but that the Splended Manner in which they had received us, was no ways conformable to a Chriſtian's Humility; * *That the* Heathen *might, indeed, celebrate their Triumphs with ſuch Earthly Pomps and Mundane Vanities, but that a* Chriſtian's *Glorying was in the Name of the Lord.* Theſe returned no Anſwer, but all on their Knees implored our Bleſſing. Their Fervency and a Meek and Devout Look, in which the *Chineze* do, when they will, exceed all other Nations, wholly diſarmed our Wrath; we wept for Joy and Compaſſion; and I proteſt, *My Lord*, that one Moment made us a large amends for all the Troubles we had undergone.

* Hi in Curris & in Equis, Nos autem in Nomine Domini.

But how great was our Bliſs when we were at liberty to receive the Careſſes of the Father *Intorcetta*, whom God had made uſe of to procure our Admittance into that Empire. We already bore him a Veneration due to the Glorious Name of Confeſſor, which his Impriſonment and Sufferings at *Pekin* had intitled him to, but his Goodneſs, Meekneſs and Charity, entirely won our Hearts, and made us reſpect him, as the true Pattern of a Perfect Miſſionary. The Character we bore of Perſons *ſent for to Court*, as Conſiderable as that of *Envoy*, obliged us to viſit and be viſited by the Chief *Mandarines*. The Viceroy our Enemy was aſhamed to ſee us, which he ſent us word, the multitude of Buſineſs he had then on his Hands

Hands would not permit: but the General of the *Tartars* received us with all Civility, and among other Demonſtrations of his Kindneſs, made us a very conſiderable Preſent.

However, when we were going, the Viceroy who was affraid leaſt he ſhould be informed againſt, ſent ſome Chairs to carry us to the Imperial Barge he had provided for us; he order'd ſome Trumpets and Hautboys to attend us, preſented us with ten Piſtols, and gave us an eſpecial Order from Court intituled a *Cam-ho*, in purſuance to which all Places we paſſed thro' were to find us Boats well man'd while we went by Water, or ſixty two or more Porters in caſe the Froſt obliged us to go by Land, and each City to give us about half a Piſtol, the ſame being allowed to the Chief *Mandarines*, who are reputed to have their Charges born by the Emperor, tho' this will not amount to the tenth part of their Expence. Beſides he order'd a *Mandarine* to accompany us, and ſee all due reſpect was paid us. We would gladly have avoided it, but were forced to go thro' what we undeſignedly had engaged in.

The Barge we were on Board was a Second Rate, containing in Breadth ſixteen feet, and in Length ſeventy, and proportionable in Heighth. Beſides the Cook-room, the Maſter and his Family's (for they have no other Dwelling) Apartment, that of his Crew, and another for our Men, there was a pretty large Parlour where we dined, and three Rooms in which ſix Perſons might lye at eaſe, all which were Verniſhed, Gilt and Painted. Now for the manner of our Travelling. As ſoon as Anchor was weighed, the Trumpets and Hautboys ſounded a March, then they took their Leave with a kind of Cheſt wherein were three Iron Barrels. which made a greater Report than ſo many Muskets, they were diſcharged one after another, and between each the Muſick

ſound-

founded, and so continued playing for some time. Whenever we met a *Mandarine*'s Barge, or some Town in our way, the same thing was repeated; as also when Night or a contrary Wind obliged us to come to an Anchor. This to a *Mandarine* had not only been a great Honour, but a very entertaining Consort: As for us, we thought it a very inharmonious one, whose tediousness made us pay dear for our Honour.

We had besides a Watch every Night to guard us, the manner of which was this: About Eight at Night, ten or twelve Inhabitants of the Town nearest to the place we anchored in, appeared in one Row on the Shoar, then the Master came upon the Deck, and thence made them a fair Speech, concerning the Obligations they lay under of preserving all that belonged to the Emperor, and watching for the *Mandarines* Safety, who themselves did so for that of the State. Then he descended into Particulars of all the Accidents they were liable to, Fire, Thieves, and Storms, exhorting them to be Vigilant, and telling them they were responsible for all the Mischief which might happen. They answered each Paragraph with a Shout, and then retired as a form to *Corps de Garde*, only one Centry was left there, who continually struck two Sticks one against another, and was hourly relieved by others, which made the same Noise, that we might know they did not fall asleep, which we would gladly have permitted them to do, on condition we might have done so our selves. But this is the Custom when any *Mandarine* travels by Water.

How teazing soever all these Ceremonies might be, I must confess that I never met with any way of Travelling less tiresome than this; for after Thirteen days Voyage we arriv'd at *Yamt-chéou* on *January* the 3d, as fresh as if we had not stirr'd out of our House. There we found Father *Aleoniſa* a *Franciscan*, Pro-Vicar to the Bishop of *Basilea*, and Father *Galiani* a Jesuit,

Jeſuit, who were come thus far to meet us; the one from the Biſhop to proffer us that Prelate's Aſſiſtance, and the other by his Credit and Experience, to make the reſt of our Journey as eaſie as he could. Both knew we had Letters of Commendation from the King, and were willing to ſhew us all the Reſpect due to thoſe who are under his Majeſty's Protection. This was not the only Civility we received from them, but they have ſince obliged us ſo highly, that we never can enough expreſs our Gratitude.

Here the Froſt forced us to leave the Great Canal, and we had Horſes found us for our Men, and Porters for our Goods. As for our ſelves, the great Cold and Snow, which we were unaccuſtomed to, made us chooſe to go in Litters, ſome of our Horſe-men riding about us that we might be the more Secure. We ſhifted our Porters at each City or pretty big Town; and what may be wonder'd at is, that we could get above a hundred, with as much ſpeed and eaſe, as in *France* we might five or ſix. The Cold increaſed hourly, and became at laſt ſo violent, that we found the River *Hoambo*, one of the greateſt in *China*, almoſt frozen over; a whole Day was ſpent in breaking the Ice, and we paſſed not without much Trouble and Danger. We left *Nimpo* on the 27th of *November* 1687. and arriv'd at *Pekin* the 8th of *February* following; but we reſted ſo often by the way, that indeed we had not ſpent above a Month and an half in our Journey.

Theſe Honours paid us by ſo potent a Prince, and the good Succeſs of ſo long and perillous a Voyage, together with a proſpect of the Benefit our Religion might reap by it, would have occaſioned in us a well-grounded Mirth, had not our Thoughts been cruelly diverted from it. Scarce were we in ſight of *Pekin*, but we received the moſt afflicting News of Father *Verbieſt*'s Death. It ſtruck us with an Aſtoniſhment which

which leſſened but to make our Grief more ſenſible. He it was who had procured our Admittance into *China*; who beſides, in delivering us from the Viceroy of *Hamt-chéou*, had ſaved our Lives, and which we looked on as a greater Kindneſs, was ready to aſſiſt us with his Credit, in the Deſigns we had to promote God's Glory and the Intereſt of our Holy Faith.

We were not the only Looſers by his Death, but I dare ſay that every Body miſt him; To his Care, Zeal and Prudence, was owing the Reſtauration of the Chriſtian Religion, which had been almoſt ruined by the late Perſecutions: He encouraged the Old Chriſtians Conſtancy, and ſupported the Weakneſs of the New, by taking them under his eſpecial Protection; His Recommendation gained our Miſſionaries, Reſpect; He had ſaved *Macao*, of which the *Tartars* had entertained ſome Jealouſies; and the State it ſelf, to which he had rendred conſiderable Services, was not a little beholding to him; ſo that the *Europeans*, the *Chineſe*, and the *Emperor* himſelf did equally look on him as their Father. This Great Man, ſo much reſpected in the Eaſt, deſerved, *My Lord*, that you ſhould take Notice of him, and in purſuance to my Deſign, which was in this Letter to give you an Account of our Journey from *Siam* to the chief Town of *China*, I could not end with a Subject that might better challenge your Attention. I am with all Reſpect,

My Lord,

Hour Honours moſt humble

and obedient Servant

L. J.

LET-

LETTER II.

To her Highneſs the Dutcheſs of NEMOURS.

The Manner of our Reception by the Emperor, and what we obſerved at Pekin.

MADAM,

NONE but a Lady of an unbounded *Genius* and an unlimited Zeal, could, as you do, concern her ſelf in what paſſes at ſo great a Diſtance. The Curioſities of *Europe* were too few for your vaſt Mind, which would be a Stranger to nothing that might Inform or Edifie it, and I may without Flattery ſay, that the Eaſt has no Secrets you have not pried into, nor any Rarities you are unacquainted with.

I have my ſelf learned from your Highneſs ſeveral things unknown to moſt Travellers, and having been as far as the World reaches, muſt confeſs that your Knowledge has travelled farther yet than me.

What then, *Madam*, can I tell you of *China* more than you already have diſcover'd, unleſs it be ſome Particulars of my Voyage, which, being the lateſt any *European* has made thither, cannot want the Charms of Novelty? It being my Duty to give a a Great States-man an Account of it, I make bold to

to ſend your Highneſs the Letter I wrote to him ſome days ſince; and what I now add, ſhall at once be a Continuation of it, and a Token of the Reſpect I bear you, and the Readineſs I ſhall ever be in, to obey your Highneſs's Commands.

On our Arrival at *Pekin*, we found the Court in Mourning for the Empreſs Dowáger: The Courts of Juſtice were ſhut up, and the Emperor gave no Audience. But the 27 Days being ſpent, during which the Laws obliged him to remain Solitary, he ſent one of his Officers to our Houſe, to ſee how we did, and put ſome Queſtions to us. The Meſſage was very obliging, and beſides a thouſand other Civilities, we were told the Emperor would be no leſs kind to us than he had been to the Fathers at his Court, ſince we were all of the ſame Society.

The Gentleman told us his Imperial Majeſty would gladly know what the *French* Court thought of his Progreſs into *Tartary*, and the Defeat of *Ouſanguay*, (who was a *Chineſe* Rebel that had given him no ſmall Trouble). He asked us in what Perfection Learning was in *Europe*, whether any new Invention had lately made been, or any conſiderable Diſcovery. Then he ſpoke much of the Honours the Emperor deſigned to pay to the Memory of Father *Verbieſt*, for whom his Majeſty had a particular affection. That Name, *Madam*, cannot be unknown to you, and you are too much concern'd, in what relates to the Eaſtern Church, to be ignorant of her Loſs in that Illuſtrious Miſſionary's Death.

We all replyed that we gratefully acknowledged the Emperor's Bounty, but that among the Ceremonies with which the *Chineſe* uſed to expreſs their Reſpect for their deceaſed Friends, there were ſome which ſeemed to diſagree with the Sanctity of our

Religion. *How!* anſwered he, *Do you oppoſe the Emperor's Will?* To this a Father returned, *My Lord, Our Lives are the Emperor's, he may take them away when he pleaſes, but nothing in the World is able to make us alter the leaſt tittle of our Belief. My Orders,* ſaid he, *are not to diſpute it with you, but to ask you for the Petition, which, according to Cuſtom, you are to preſent to him upon this Occaſion. The Emperor, by an unpreſidented Goodneſs, would gladly peruſe and correct it himſelf, if it ſhould need any amendment: but he commands you to keep this Favour ſecret.*

All that is preſented to the Emperor, ought to be indited in Terms ſo nicely conformable to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country, to his Quality who ſpeaks, and to the Buſineſs he treats of, that the Penning of it is no little trouble, eſpecially for a Stranger. An improper Expreſſion, a Word, nay a Letter miſplaced, is ſufficient to undo a *Mandarine*, and ſeveral have loſt their Places for being Guilty of the like Faults, whether thro' Inadvertency or Ignorance. The Emperor, well skill'd in all theſe Formalities, queſtioned our Capacity in that reſpect, and would truſt no body but himſelf; ſo that by an incredible Goodneſs he took the pains to compoſe it, that it might ſtand the moſt Critical Examination.

Some days after the ſame Gentleman came with ſeveral new Queries. He inquired particularly into the Motives of the late *Dutch* War, and into the famous Paſſage of the *Rhine*. *For in truth*, ſaid he, *what has been told the Emperor is not to be believed. Perhaps the River is neither ſo broad, ſo deep, nor ſo rapid as is reported; and that as for the* Dutch, *they had ſome private Reaſons not to oppoſe your King's Conqueſts with more vigour.*

Then,

Then, *Madam*, did we wiſh for a more perfect Knowledge of his Language, that we might repreſent to him the Great Soul, the Good Fortune, and the unſhaken Valour of *Lewis the Great*, to whoſe Soldiers nothing is impoſſible while they fight in his View, and are animated by his Example. The Father, who was our Interpreter, told him however as much as would perſwade him, that none but ſuch a Hero could frame and carry on the like Enterpriſes: He was aſtoniſhed at our Recital of them, and roſe immediately to go and report it to his Prince.

As he was going out he turned to us, ſaying, *Gentlemen, All I have heard is indeed wonderful, but what my Eyes behold ſeems no leſs ſurpriſing: Who could think that theſe Fathers who have dwelt here ſo long, who are of a different Nation, and never ſaw you before, ſhould look on you as their Brethren; that you ſhould treat them like yours, and that you ſhould be as kind to each other, as if you had been acquainted all your Lives. I really am extreamly taken with this Charity, and can no longer doubt the truth of what you profeſs.* So open a Confeſſion might give us ſome hopes that *He was not far from the Kingdom of God:* It is true he believed, but alas, of what uſe is that Belief, when we have not the Courage to Act accordingly, but to inhance our Guilt?

If we had come thither *Incognito* the *Mandarines* would have had nothing to ſay to us; but it being in purſuance of an Order from the *Lipon*, which, as I have already hinted, is one of the moſt noted Courts of Juſtice in the Empire, the Viceroy of the Province we came from remitted us into their Hands, and we were, according to Cuſtom, to be delivered up by them to their Sovereign. So as ſoon as the Mourning ended, and they had leave to ſit, we were Summon'd before them, with Or-

ders to carry thither all our Mathematical Machines and Inſtruments, of which they already had an Inventory.

The Emperor, who would not have us do any thing without his Advice, was acquainted with it, and ſent us word it was not fitting we ſhould ſhew our Inſtruments, and that we might, if we thought fit, decline making a Perſonal Appearance. We went thither however, being ſeveral times invited in a moſt obliging manner, and not judging it convenient by a blunt Refuſal to offend ſo conſiderable a Body, which beſides was our Judge, and already but too great an Enemy to our Religion.

Some *Mandarines* deputed by their Preſident to that effect, made us a very Civil Reception: They deſired us to ſit down, and preſented us ſome Tea before they had drunk any themſelves; a Reſpect they do not pay even to Ambaſſadours, as Father *Pereira*, a *Portugueſe*, aſſured us, who had been preſent at an Audience they had lately given to thoſe of *Portugal*.

This Viſit was indeed but for Form's ſake, to the end they might inform the Emperor of our being ſafely arrived to Town, according to his Majeſty's Commands. So that after ſome Complements on each ſide, we were deſired to attend the next day at the Palace, when they would diſcharge us.

We went thither accordingly at the appointed time, and having ſtaid during ſome hours in a large Court, where the *Mandarines* uſually wait who have any buſineſs there; their Preſident, or Chief Juſtice, brought us the Anſwer to an Addreſs he had according to Cuſtom preſented on our Account. This Anſwer was written on a ſmall varniſhed Board, wrapped up in a piece of yellow Taffety: The Contents were, *That we might uſe our Inſtruments, and ſettle in what part of the Empire we pleaſed, according*

according to the first Orders from Court, when we were sent for thither. And that in the mean while, the Lipou *might deliver us up to the other Fathers, who were to introduce us into the Emperor's Presence, when his Majesty should think fit.*

Yet that Prince's Intentions were not that we should leave *Pekin*; but on the contrary, he would have kept us all there, and lodg'd us in his Palace. He had expressed himself so clearly on that Point, that we had need of all the Interest and Dexterity of Father *Pereira*, to divert the Storm. That Father, who was then Superiour of all the Missionary's, moved with Compassion at so many *Vineyards* being ruined for want of *Husbandmen*, judged we might be more useful in the Country. He knew besides what an aversion we had to a Courtier's Life, which our continual Complaints against it could not let him be ignorant of. These and several other Reasons induced him to intreat the Emperor that he would not oppose it, and his Zeal inspired him with such effectual Methods, that the good Prince at last consented: *But*, said he, *it shall be on condition we divide the Spoil; I'le take two at your choice, and you shall dispose of the other three; What can you say against this, I quit you the better half?*

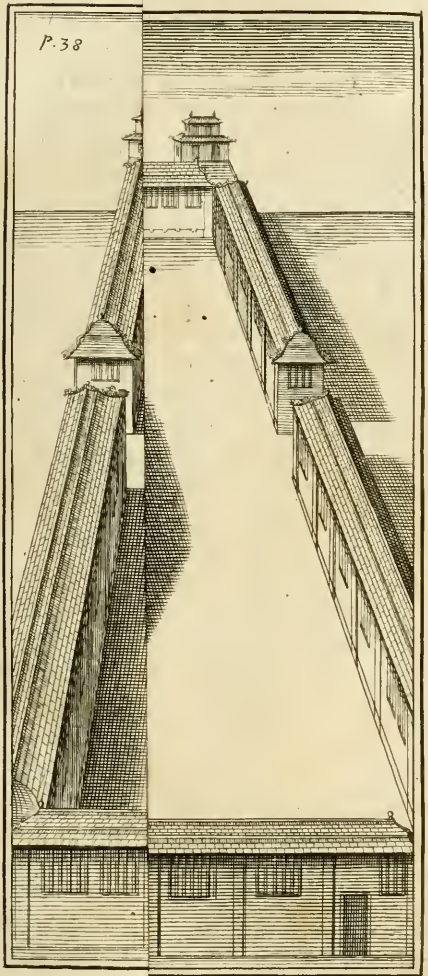
We had not yet had the Honour to attend his Imperial Majesty, for the Formalities I last mentioned were to precede our Audience: But the *Lipou* had scarce delivered up their Charge, when two Eunuchs came to the Colledge, to warn the Superiour that he should attend with his Brethren in a Court of the Palace which was appointed. We were instructed in the Ceremonies usual on such Occasions, which was done with little Trouble, being already half lickt into a *Chinese* form.

Firſt then, We were carried in Chairs to the firſt Gate, whence we went on foot thro' eight Courts of a prodigious length, built round with Lodgings different in Architecture, but all very ordinary, except thoſe large ſquare Buildings over the Arches thro' which we paſſed from one Court to another. Thoſe indeed were ſtately, being of an extraordinary thickneſs, and proportionable in breadth and heighth, and built with fair white Marble, but which was worn rough thro' age. Thro' one of theſe Courts ran a ſmall Rivulet, over which were laid ſeveral little Bridges of the ſame Marble, but of a whiter Colour and better Workmanſhip.

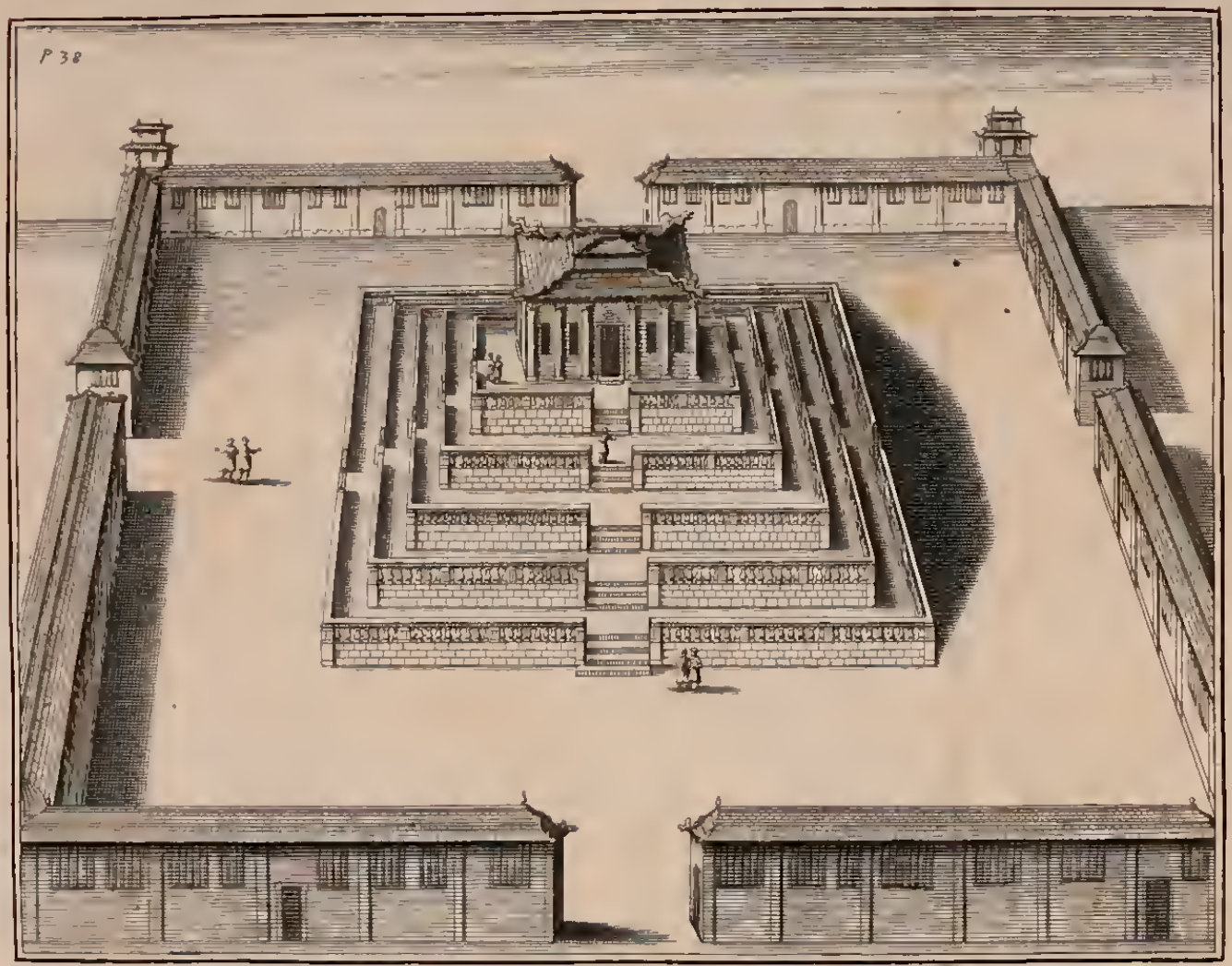
It were hard, *Madam*, to deſcend into Particulars, and give you a pleaſing Deſcription of that Palace, becauſe its Beauty does not conſiſt ſo much in being compoſed of ſeveral curious Pieces of Architecture, as in a prodigious quantity of Buildings, and an infinite number of adjoyning Courts and Gardens which are all regularly diſpoſed, and in the whole make up a Palace really Great and Worthy of the Monarch who inhabits it.

The only thing which ſurpriſed me, and ſeemed ſingular in its kind, is the Emperor's Throne. The beſt Deſcription of it, which my Memory will afford me, is this: In the midſt of one of thoſe great Courts ſtands a ſquare Baſis or ſolid Building of an extraordinay bigneſs, whoſe top is adorned with a Baluſtrade, much after our faſhion; this ſupports another like unto it, but framed Taper-wiſe, over which are placed three more, ſtill looſing in bulk as they gain in heighth. Upon the uppermoſt is built a large Hall, whoſe Roof being covered with gilt Tiles, is borne by the four Walls, and as many rows of varniſhed Pillars, between which is ſeated the Throne.

Theſe



The Thron[illegible] Court of his Pallace
, and raise[illegible]



The Throne of the Emperour of China, Situated in the Middle of the Greatest Court of his Pallace, and raised upon five bases of White Marble.

These vast Bases, with their Balustrades made of white Marble, and thus disposed Amphitheater-wise, which when the Sun shines seem covered with a Palace glistering with Gold and Varnish, make, indeed, a glorious show, considering too, that they are thus placed in the midst of a spacious Court, and surrounded by four stately rows of Building: So that were its Beauty inhanced by the Ornaments of our Modern Architecture, and by that Noble Simplicity which is so much valued in our Buildings, it would doubtless be as magnificent a Throne as ever was raised by Art.

After a quarter of an hours walk, we at length came to the Emperor's Apartment. The Entrance was not very splendid, but the Anti-Chamber was adorned with Sculptures, Gildings and Marble, whose Neatness and Workmanship were more valuable than the Richness of the Stuff. As for the Presence Chamber, the second Mourning not being over, it was still disrobed of all its Ornaments, and could boast of none but the Sovereign's Person, who sate after the *Tartar*'s Custom on a Table or *Sopha* raised three Feet from the Ground, and covered with a plain white Carpet, which took up the whole breadth of the Room. There lay by him some Books, Ink and Pencils; he was cloathed with a black Satin Vest furred with Sable; and a row of young Eunuchs plainly habited, and unarmed, stood on each Hand close legged, and with their Arms extended downwards along their sides; which is looked upon there as the most respectful Posture.

In that State, the most modest that even a Private Man could have appeared in, did he chuse to be seen by us, desiring we should observe his Dutifulness to the Empress his departed Mother, and the Grief he conceived at her Death, rather than the State and Grandeur he is usually attended with.

Being come to the Door, we haſtned with no little ſpeed (for ſuch is the Cuſtom) till we came to an end of the Chamber oppoſite to the Emperor. Then all abreaſt we ſtood a moment in the ſame Poſture the Eunuchs were in.

Next we fell on our Knees, and having joyned our Hands, and lifted them up to our Heads, ſo that our Arms and Elbows were at the ſame heighth, we bowed thrice to the Ground, and then ſtood again as before: The ſame Proſtration was repeated a ſecond time, and again a third, when we were ordered to come forward, and kneel before his Majeſty.

The Good-natur'd Prince, whoſe Mildneſs I cannot enough admire, having enquired of us of the Grandeur and preſent State of *France*, the Length and Dangers of our Voyage, and the Manner of our Treatment by the *Mandarines*; *Well*, ſaid he, *ſee if I can add any new Favour to thoſe I have already conferred upon you. Is there any thing you would deſire of me? you may freely ask it.* We returned him humble Thanks, and begged he would permit us, as a Token of our ſincere Gratitude, to lift up each day of our Lives our Hands to Heaven, to procure to his Royal Perſon, and to his Empire, the Bleſſing of the *True God*, who alone can make Princes really happy.

He ſeemed well ſatisfied with our Anſwer, and permitted us to withdraw, which is performed without any Ceremony. The great Reſpect and Dread which the Preſence of the moſt Potent Monarch in *Aſia* inſpired us with, did not yet awe us ſo far, but that we took a full view of his Perſon. Indeed, leaſt our too great Freedom herein ſhould prove a Crime, (for in what concerns the Emperor of *China*, the leaſt Miſtake is ſuch,) we had firſt obtained his Leave.

He was ſomething above the middle Stature, more Corpulent than an *European Beau*, yet ſomewhat more Slender than a *Chineſe* would wiſh to be; full Viſaged, Disfigured with the Small Pox, had a broad Forehead, little Eyes, and a ſmall Noſe after the *Chineſe* faſhion; his Mouth was well made, and the lower part of his Face very agreeable. In fine, tho' he bears no great Majeſty in his Looks, yet they ſhew abundance of Good Nature, and his Ways and Action have ſomething of the Prince in them, and ſhew him to be ſuch.

From his Apartment we went into another, where a *Mandarine* treated us with *Tea*, and preſented us as from the Emperor, with about a hundred Piſtols. The Gift ſeemed but Mean, conſidering whom it came from, but was very Conſiderable in reſpect to the Cuſtom of *China*, where it is the Maxim of all Great Perſons to take as much, and give as little as they can. On the other hand he loaded us with Honours, and ordered one of his Officers to wait on us to our Houſe.

I confeſs, *Madam*, that a Man muſt be wholly inſenſible to all the Concerns of this World, not to be moved with a ſecret Complacency, at the having ſuch Reſpect paid him by one of the mightieſt Princes in the World. But one muſt not judge of us on that account, by what is uſual with the Men of this World in the like Occaſions.

The trueſt Cauſe of the Pleaſure we receive from the Favour of Princes, is Self-Intereſt. It is well known that their Careſſes are ever beneficial, and a Courtier would never be ſo over-joyful at a kind Look or Expreſſion from his King, if he did not expect ſome more ſolid Bounties would follow: But as for us, whom our Vows and Miſſions forbid to have ſuch hopes, we look unconcernedly on all this World, and eſpecially that Part of it, can do to elevate us.

It

It is true, God is ſometimes well pleaſed to ſee Religion reſpected in the Perſons of his Miniſters: That he often uſes thoſe Methods to ſtrengthen the Faith of New Converts, who need ſuch Natural Supports to fortifie them againſt Trials and Temptations; and that it breeds even in the Gentiles a Diſpoſition to embrace Chriſtianity. Theſe Thoughts indeed made us take more Delight in thoſe Tokens of the Emperor's Favour, or to ſpeak more properly, made us find them leſs diſagreeable.

Your Highneſs is, perhaps, aſtoniſhed to ſee the Sovereign of an Idolatrous Nation, ſo openly countenance our Religion, and would gladly know what Motives had induced him to it. His Kindneſs for ſuch Strangers as we, proceeds, doubtleſs, from the great Eſteem he has long ſince had for the Miſſionaries at *Pekin*. Beſides the Commendation of their Learning, he has always found them Sincere, Honeſt, very Zealous and Affectionate to him, ever ready to obey his Will, where their Faith did not forbid them, Harmleſs to a Degree, he never could give over admiring, and ever deſirous to proclaim the True God.

He is above all ſo well perſwaded that this is the ſole End of all their Enterpriſes, that he takes a ſecret Delight in contributing to the Propagation of the Faith, thinking he can no other way better Recompenſe theſe Fathers earneſtneſs in his Service.

And ſo Father *Verbieſt*, on his Death-Bed wrote a Letter to him, in part of which he thus expreſſed himſelf; *Dread Sir, I die contented, in that I have ſpent almoſt all my Life in your Majeſties Service; But I beg your Majeſty will be pleaſed to remember when I am dead, that my* Only Aim, *in what I did, was, to gain in the greateſt Monarch of the Eaſt, a Protector to the moſt Holy Religion of the World.*

Perhaps,

Perhaps, *Madam*, you may have ſeen certain *Libels*, (for I know not what to call them elſe) which repreſent our Society as a ſort of Men poſſeſſed with Avarice and Ambition, who undertake theſe Long and Painful Travels, only to enrich themſelves by a Sacrilegious and Scandalous Traffick. Your Highneſs might have expected that Calumny , (the inſeparable Companion of a Spirit of Sedition and Hereſie) not ſaitsfied with Perſecuting our Religion in *Europe*, ſhould come even to the utmoſt Parts of the World, to ſlander thoſe who endeavour to ſettle it there,as pure as we received it from our Forefathers ; and you will not be ſorry to hear,how That very Idolatry which we deſtroy, cannot forbear witneſſing our good Intentions, and that if *China* ſaw what Pictures are drawn here of her Miſſionaries, ſhe would hardly know them. But it is not before your Highneſs they need an Advocate.

Among the ſeveral things which happened then at *Pekin*,nothing was more Doleful, and at once more Honourable to us, than the Funeral of Father *Verbeiſt*, which his Imperial Majeſty had ordered to be put off till the laſt Devoirs had been paid the Empreſs Dowager. Father *Thomas* a Jeſuit, has deſcribed this Ceremony at large. I dare hope an Extract of what he has wrote will not be unwelcome to you both becauſe it will give you ſome inſight into their Cuſtoms on the like Occaſions, and that you will thereby grow better acquainted with a Man whom his Merit has made known to all the World. Be pleaſed then to accept of it as follows.

It ſeemed good to Divine Wiſdom , to take to himſelf from this Mortal Life, Father *Ferdinando Verbieſt*, a Fleming, and to beſtow on him the Recompence of Saints. Our Miſſionaries Affliction may not eaſily be expreſſed, but much harder would it be

to

to reckon by how many Exemplary Vertues, and Conſiderable Services he has merited their Eſteem and Gratitude.

Beſides ſeveral other good Qualities, the Greatneſs of his Soul is particularly to be admired, which has never failed him in the moſt Cruel Perſecutions, ſo that he was ever Triumphant over the Enemies of the Faith. The Survey of the Mathematicks was at firſt proffered him, which Dignity he accepted of, in hopes it would enable him to ſet on foot our Miſſions, which were then wholly laid aſide.

He did, indeed, obtain a Toleration for Evangelical Paſtours, who after a long Baniſhment had their Churches reſtored them. He ſtifled ſome Perſecutions in their Birth, and others he prevented, which threatned the tender Flocks. The *Mandarines* no ſooner knew him, but they had a Reſpect for him, and the Emperor entertained ſo Good an Opinion of his Capacity, that he kept him above a quarter of a Year near his Perſon, and during that time, ſpent three or four hours every day with him in private, diſcourſing of ſeveral Sciences, eſpecially Mathematicks.

In theſe Converſations, our Zealous Miſſionary endeavoured to bring him into a Liking of our Religion: He would explain to him its moſt ſtupendious Myſteries, and made him obſerve its Holineſs, its Truth, and Neceſſity; inſomuch that the Emperor, ſtruck with his powerful Arguments, often owned *that he believed a God:* He aſſured him of it by a Writing under his Majeſty's own Hand, wherein he ſaid among other things, *That all the Religions of his Empire ſeemed to him Vain and Superſtitious, that the Idols were nothing, and that he foreſaw* Chriſtianity *would one day be built on their Ruins.* A *Chineſe* Doctor having in one of his Books taken the liberty to place the Emperor's Religion among the ſeveral Hereſies

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China was infected with; the Emperor upon the Father's Complaint, ſtruck out thoſe Lines himſelf, telling him all the Empire ſhould know what he had done.

Father *Verbieſt*'s Intereſt was ſuch, that at his Inſtigation the old Inſtruments which ſtood on the Platform of the Obſervatory were pulled down, to make room for new ones of his Contriving. He gave Directions for the caſting of Braſs-Guns, which ſaved the States from Ruin. He applyed himſelf to ſeveral other Works, to ſerve the Publick, or ſatisfie the Emperor's Curioſity; and one may ſay, that on this laſt account, he has ſearched into the moſt rare and and ingenious Inventions, that Arts and Sciences have ever offered us.

The whole Court looked upon him as the Wiſeſt man of his Age, but, above all, was charmed with his Modeſty. It is true, no Man ever was more Mild and Tractable than he; humbling himſelf before every one, while every one ſtrove to Exalt him: Inſenſible to all the Things of this World, except where Religion was concerned; for then he was no more the ſame Man, and as tho' he had been animated by a new Spirit, his Looks, his Words, his Actions, all were Great, and becoming a Chriſtian Hero. The very Emperor dreaded him at ſuch times, and was not eaſily perſwaded to admit him into his Preſence; *He will fly out*, would he ſay, *into ſome undecency, which I muſt be forced, tho' unwillingly, to reſent.*

This holy Boldneſs proceeded from a lively Faith, and a great Confidence in God. He deſpaired of nothing, though humanly impoſſible; and would often ſay, *We muſt never forget two of the Chief Maxims of Chriſtian Morality: Firſt, That let our Projects be never ſo well laid, they will certainly fall, if God leaves us to our own Wiſdom. Secondly, That it were in vain*

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the whole Universe should arm it self to destroy the Work of God; nothing is Powerful against the Almighty, and every thing Prospers that Heaven approves of. So he never entered on any Enterprise without imploring its help, tho' however he left no Means untried that Reason and Christian Prudence offered him.

Thus did his Zeal each day increase in Strength and Purity: The Establishment of our Faith wholly employed his Thoughts, and whatever Occupation else he was put upon, proved a Torment to him. He avoided all idle Visits and Conversations, and could not endure to see People study only for Curiosities sake: He never so much as read the News that came from *Europe*, which at such a Distance we are usually so greedy of; only he would hear the Chief Heads, provided you would speak them in a few words. He would spend whole Days and Nights in writing Letters of Consolation, Instruction or Recommendation for the Missionaries; in composing divers Works for the Emperor or Chief Lords at his Court; and in Compiling the Kalendar, Calculating with an indefatigable Industry, the Motion of the Stars for every Year.

This and *the Care of all the Churches*, so impaired his Strength, that in spight of the Strength of his Constitution, he fell at last into a kind of Consumption, which yet did not hinder his framing great Designs for the Advancement of his Religion. He had taken such exact Measures for the settling of it in the most remote Parts of *China*, in the Eastern *Tartary*, and even in the Kingdom of *Kovia*; that nothing but his Death could have prevented the Execution of so well contrived a Project.

Let us view him now in Private. At his first Admittance into our Order he was a true Monk, strict in the Performance of its Rules, very observant to his Superiours, and loving Study and Retirement above

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all things, which he perſiſted in, even among the multitude of Buſineſs, in the midſt of which he would be as Sedate as a Hermit in his Cell.

His Conſcience was Nice to Extremity, ſo that no Man could take more Care than he did to be always ready to make his Appearance before him who can eſpy Faults even in Saints and Angels. To preſerve his Innocence, he never went out without a ſevere *Cilice* or an Iron Chain, and uſed to ſay, It was a ſhame for a Jeſuit to be clothed in Silks, and in the Livery of the World, and not to wear the Livery of Chriſt.

His Soul was naturally great, and when others Neceſſities wanted a Supply, his Charity was boundleſs. But he was hard-hearted to himſelf, courting Poverty even in Plenty to that degree, that the Emperor, who took great Notice of him, often ſent him Stuff with expreſs Orders to wear it, and be more Sumptuous in his Apparel. His Bed, Table, and Furniture were indeed too mean for a *Mandarine*; but he ever preferred his Station in the Church before that in the State. He has often proteſted, He would never have accepted of that Office, had he not hoped by ſeeming to the Gentiles the Head of the Chriſtians, to have thereby born all their Envy, and been the moſt expoſed to their Malice, and the firſt Sacrificed in caſe of Perſecution.

This Hope made him be ſatisfied with his Condition, and his Writings expreſſed ſo ardent deſire of Dying for *Jeſus Chriſt*, that nothing but Martyrdom was wanting to his being a Martyr; yet he might in ſome meaſure be reckon'd ſuch, ſince he begged it of God with that Groaning in Spirit, which is a continual Suffering to thoſe that cannot obtain it, *Reckon me, O Lord*, did he often cry out, *among thoſe who have deſired, but never could ſhed their Blood for thee. I have, indeed, neither their Innocency, their Vertue, nor their Courage,*

rage, but thou may'ſt apply their Merits to me, and (which will make me much more agreeable in thy ſight) thou canſt cloath me with thine own. Under that Veil of thine Infinite Mercy, I dare offer my Life as a Sacrifice to thee. I have been ſo happy as to Confeſs thy Holy Name among the People, at Court, before the Tribunals under the weight of Irons, and in the darkneſs of Priſons, but what will this Confeſſion avail me, unleſs ſigned with my Blood?

Being penetrated with theſe Lofty Thoughts, and already ripened for Heaven, by the Practiſe of every Chriſtian Vertue, he was ſeiz'd with a Sickneſs of which he died. It began with a Faintneſs and an Univerſal Decay of Nature, which grew into a Conſumption. The Emperor's Phyſicians kept him up ſome time with the help of Phyſick, eſpecially Cordials, in which the *Chineſe* have a wonderful Succeſs; but his Fever increaſing, Art at length was forced to yield to Nature. He received the Sacraments with a Zeal that charmed all that were preſent; and when he yielded up the Ghoſt, they were equally ſtruck with Devotion and Sorrow.

The Emperor, who the day before had loſt the Empreſs his Mother, felt a double Grief when he heard the News. He ordered the Burial to be put off till the Court ſhould be out of Deep Mourning; and then he ſent two Lords of the higheſt Quality to pay him on his behalf the ſame Devoirs which private Men uſually pay to their Dead. They kneeled before the Coffin, which was expoſed in a Hall, bowed ſeveral times, remaining a long while with their Faces to the Ground, and wept and groaned heavily, for that is the Cuſtom. Then after thoſe, and ſeveral other Expreſſions of their Sorrow, they read aloud his Encomium which the Emperor himſelf had compoſed, and which was to be ſet up near the Corpſe. It runs thus:

We ſeriouſly conſider within our ſelves, that Father Ferdinando Verbieſt, *has of his own good will, left* Europe *to come into our Dominions, and has ſpent the greateſt part of his Life in our Service; We muſt ſay this for him, That during all the time that he took Care of the Mathematicks, his Predictions never failed, but always agreed with the Motions of the Heavens. Beſides, far from neglecting our Orders, he has ever approved himſelf to be Exact, Diligent, Faithful, and Conſtant in his Labour, till he had finiſhed his Work, and ever the ſame. As ſoon as We heard of his Sickneſs, We ſent him Our Phyſician, and when We knew that a dead Sleep had taken him away from Us, Our Heart was wounded with a lively Grief. We give Two hundred golden Crowns, and ſome Pieces of Silk, as a Contribution to the Charges of his Funeral: And it is Our Pleaſure that this Declaration bear Witneſs of the Sincere Affection We bore him.*

The prime *Mandarines* and ſeveral Lords at Court followed their Sovereign's Example. Some wrote Speeches in his Praiſe on large Pieces of Satin, which were hung up in the Hall where the Body lay in State; others ſent in Preſents, and all mourned for his Loſs. At length the Day of his Obſequies being agreed upon, which was the 11th of *March* 1688. every Body was willing to contribute ſomething towards the Ceremony.

The Emperor in the Morning ſent his Father-in-law, who is alſo his Uncle, with one of the Chief Lords of his Court, attended by a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and five Officers of his Houſehold, to repreſent his Perſon; who all began by falling down before the Corpſe, and wept a pretty while; during which, all things were diſpoſed for the Proceſſion.

The College is Situated near the South Gate, whence you go to the North Gate by a Street built in a ſtrait Line, about a hundred Foot broad, and a League long, which near the middle is croſſed by another exactly like it, one end of which leads to the Weſtern Gate, being within ſix hundred Paces of our burying place, which the Emperor *Vauli* had formerly beſtowed on Father *Recin*, but had been taken away during the late Perſecution, and not reſtored till now by a ſpecial Favour from the preſent Emperor. Thro' theſe two Streets the Funeral paſſed, in the Order I am going to deſcribe.

Firſt was ſeen a Pageant of about thirty Feet in heighth, varniſhed over with Red, on which was written in large Golden Characters, the Name, and Titles of Father *Verbieſt*. This was, as one may ſay, the Signal of the enſuing Pomp, which began by a great Croſs ſtuck with Flags, and carried between two Rows of Chriſtians all clothed in White, holding in one hand a lighted Taper, and in the other a Handkerchief to wipe off their Tears. The Gentiles are uſed on ſuch Solemnities to ſhed feigned ones, but Theſe had ſuffered a loſs, which forced moſt true ones from them. Next, ſome diſtance off, followed in the ſame Order the Picture of the *Virgin Mary*, in a Frame, round which were pieces of Silk, neatly plated in ſeveral manners inſtead of Carving; and then St. *Michael*'s Repreſentation was born with the like Ceremonies. And I may ſay, that the Chriſtians who walked on either ſide, devoutly praying, inſpired even the Heathen with a Veneration for thoſe precious Tokens of our Faith.

Immediately after came the Father's Encomium, of the Emperor's own Compoſing, written on a large piece of yellow Satin; a Crowd of Chriſtians ſurrounded it, and two Rows of thoſe who had been

been invited, followed it in a Reſpectful manner. At length appeared the Corpſe, in a Coffin made of an ordinary Wood, but varniſhed and gilt after the Country faſhion, carried by ſixty Bearers, and attended by the Miſſionaries, the Deputies from Court, and a Throng of Lords and Mandarines, who cloſed up the Proceſſion. It took up above a thouſand Paces which were hem'd in on each ſide, by an infinite number of Spectators, who aſtoniſhed beheld our Chriſtian Rites triumphing, even in their Capital City, over Pagan Superſtition.

When we were come to the Burying place, the Miſſionaries in their Surplices read the Prayers of the Church, before the *Mandarins*. The Body was beſprinkled with Holy Water, and perfumed with Incenſe in the uſual manner; then it was let down into a very deep ſquare Vault, encloſed with four good Brick Walls. It was like a Chamber underground, and in the Scripture Phraſe became to him an *Everlaſting Habitation*. Having pray'd near it ſome time, we remained on our Knees to hear what the Emperor's Father-in-law had to ſay to us; which was this: *Father* Verbieſt *has been conſiderably ſerviceable to the Emperor and the State; of which his Imperial Majeſty being ſenſible, has ſent me with theſe Lords to make a Publick Acknowledgment of it on his behalf, that all the World may know the ſingular Affection his Majeſty did ever bear him while he lived, and the great Grief he has received by his Death.*

We were ſo moved with the Diſmal Ceremony, the Chriſtians continual Lamentations, our own great Loſs, and the Emperor's ſurpriſing Bounty, that we were not able to Reply. Every one melted into Tears; but that Prince, who expected another Anſwer from us, was obliged to preſs us for it, when, at length, Father *Pereira* thus ſpoke on our behalf: *My Lord, our Anguiſh was not ſo much the cauſe of our Silence,*

as the Emperor's unparallel'd Goodneſs; for what can we ſay or think, when we conſider that ſo great a Monarch uſes us who are Strangers, Unknown, Uſeleſs, and perhaps Troubleſome to him, as if we had the Honour to be in his Service? Were we his Children he could not love us more; he takes care of our Health, of our Reputation, of our Life: He honours our very Death, not only with his Elogies, his Liberality, the Preſence of the moſt Noble Lords of his Court, but (which never can enough be prized) by his Grief. What Return, My Lord, can we then make, not to all his Favours, but to that alone which your Highneſs has been pleaſed to deliver? We will only be bold to beg your Grace would acquaint his Majeſty, that we Weep becauſe our Tears may indeed make known our Sorrow, but that we remain Silent, becauſe no Words can expreſs our Gratitude.

The Emperor was informed of what had paſſed, and ſome days after the * Chief Court of Rites, preſented a Petition, That his Majeſty would ſuffer them to Decree ſome new Honours to be paid that Illuſtrious Father's Memory. The Emperor not only granted it, but willed them to conſider that Stranger of ſo extraordinary a Merit, was not to be look'd upon as an ordinary Man. In the very firſt Meeting they ordered ſeven hundred golden Crowns ſhould be laid out on a Tomb for him, and the Encomium which the Emperor had wrote, ſhould be ingraved on a Marble Stone, and that ſome *Mandarines* ſhould be once more deputed to pay him their laſt Devoirs in behalf of the Empire. Then they promoted him, that is, gave him a higher Title than any he had enjoyed during his Life.

* As with us the Colledge of Heralds.

While the Emperor honoured the Saint on Earth, he, no doubt, pray'd for him in Heaven: For it is very obſervable, that that Prince never was more inquiſitive about Religion then at that time. He ſent one of

of his Gentlemen every Minute to the Fathers, to inquire about the Condition of Souls in the other World, about Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, the Exiſtence of a God, his Providence, and the Means neceſſary to Salvation: So that God ſeemed to move his Heart after an extraordinary Manner, and to affect it with thoſe Holy Doubts which uſually precede our Converſion. But that happy Moment was not yet come. However, who knows but Father *Verbieſt*'s Prayers, and the Care of ſeveral zealous Miſſionaries who have ſucceeded him, may haſten the Execution of thoſe Deſigns which Providence ſeems to have on that great Prince? I am moſt reſpectfully,

Madam,

Your Highneſſes moſt humble

and obedient Servant

L. J.

LETTER III.

To his Highneſs the Cardinal of FURSTEMBERG.

Of the Cities, Houſes, and Chief Buildings of China.

My Lord,

AMONG the ſeveral Empires into which the World has hitherto been divided, that of *China* has ever obtained ſo conſiderable a Place, that a Prince cannot be wholly ignorant of what concerns it without neglecting one of thoſe Sciences which ſeem a part of his Prerogative.

This, *My Lord*, was, no doubt, the Motive that induced your Highneſs to inquire ſo particularly into the State of that Country, and to deſire an Exact Account of the Number and Bigneſs of its Cities, the Multitude of its Inhabitants, the Beauty of its Publick Buildings, and Manner of its Palaces.

By this it plainly appears that the vaſt *Genius* you have for Buſineſs, does in no wiſe leſſen the Acuteneſs of your Judgment in the Sublimeſt Arts, and eſpecially in Architecture, of which, the moſt Excellent Works raiſed by your Directions at *Modave, Saverne, Berni, St. Germans*, and above all in the famous Cathedral of *Strasbourg*, are ſeveral Inſtances.

It having been my Buſineſs to run over all *China*, where in Five years time I have travelled above Two thouſand Leagues, I may perhaps ſatisfie your Highneſs with more eaſe than any one beſides, and ſhall give a Deſcription of what has ſeemed to me moſt worth my Obſervation.

Pekin, that is, the North-Court, is the chief City of *China*, and the uſual Seat of its Emperors. It is ſo named to diſtinguiſh it from *Nankin*, the South-Court, another very conſiderable City, ſo called from the Emperor's Reſiding there in former Ages, it being the Fineſt, the moſt Commodious and beſt Situated of the whole Empire; but the continual Incurſions of the *Tartars*, a Warlike and very Troubleſome Neighbour, obliged him to ſettle in the moſt Northerly Provinces, that he might be always ready to oppoſe them, with the numerous Army he uſually keeps near his Court.

Pekin was the place fixed upon, being Situate in the 40th Degree of Northern Latitude, in a very Fertile Plain, and not far from the Long Wall. Its Neighbourhood to the Sea on the Eaſt, and the great Canal on the South, afford it a Communication with ſeveral fine Provinces, from which it draws part of of its Subſiſtence.

This City, which is of an exact Square Form, was formerly four long Leagues round, but *Tartars* ſettling there, forced the *Chineſe* to live without the Walls, where they in a very ſhort while built a new Town, which being more Long than Large, does with the old one compoſe an irregular Figure. Thus *Pekin* is made up of two Cities; one is called the *Tartar's*, becauſe they permit none elſe to inhabit it; and the other the *Chineſe*, as large, but much more full than the firſt. Both together are Six great Leagues in Circuit, allowing 3600 Paces to each League. This I can aver to be true, it having been meaſured by the Emperor's ſpecial Command.

This, *My Lord*, will ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who are acquainted with *Europe* only, and think *Paris* the Largeſt, as it is doubtleſs the Fineſt City in the World; yet the Difference between them is great. *Paris* according to the Draught Mr. *Blondell* has made, by Order from our Magiſtrates, on the account of a Deſign they have to ſurround it with new Walls, contains in its greateſt Length but 2500 Paces, and * conſequently, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe it Square, would be but 10000 Paces round; ſo we ſhould find it half as big as the *Tartar*'s Town alone, and but a quarter as large as all *Pekin*.

* In the Draught the Length does not bear a reciprocal Proportion to its Circuit.

But then if one reflects that their Houſes are generally but one Story high, and ours, one with another, are four, it will appear that *Pekin* has not more Lodgings than *Paris*, but rather leſs, becauſe its Streets are much wider, that the Emperor's Palace, which is of a vaſt Extent, is not half inhabited, that there are Magazines of Rice for the ſuſtenance of above 200000 Men, and large Courts filled with little Houſes in which thoſe who ſtand for their Doctor's Degree are examined; which alone would make a very big City.

It muſt not however be inferred that there are at *Paris* and *Pekin* the like number of Inhabitants; for the *Chineſe* are very cloſe together in their Dwellings, ſo that Twenty or more of them will lye in as little room as Ten with us; and it muſt needs be ſo, ſince the multitude of People in the Streets is ſo great, that one is frightned at it; it being ſuch that Perſons of Quality have always a Horſe-man going before them, to make way. Even the wideſt Streets are not free from Confuſion; and at the ſight of ſo many Horſes, Mules, Camels, Wagons, Chairs, and Rings of 100 or 200 Perſons who gather here and there round the

the Fortune-Tellers, one would judge that ſome unuſual Shew had drawn the whole Country to *Pekin*.

Indeed, to outward appearance our moſt populous Cities are Wilderneſſes in reſpect of this, eſpecially conſidering there are more Women then Men, and that among ſo vaſt a Multitude you ſhall very ſeldom meet with any. This I ſuppoſe has made ſome People think both Cities might contain Six or Seven Millions of Souls, which was a great miſtake. By the following Reflexions it will, perhaps, appear that one muſt not always gueſs at the Number of Inhabitants in a Place by the Crowds that are ſeen in it.

Firſt, From all the Neighbouring Towns a Multitude of Peaſants daily flock to *Pekin*, with ſeveral uſeful and neceſſary Commodities; now no River coming up to the City, theſe muſt be brought by Land, which increaſes the number of Carters, Wagons, Camels, and other Beaſts of Burthen. So that Morning and Night, at the opening or ſhutting of the Gates, there are ſuch Throngs of People going in or out, that one muſt wait a long while before they can go by: Now all theſe, who ſpread about the Streets, muſt not be reckoned among the Citizens.

Secondly, Moſt Artificers in *China* work in their Cuſtomers Houſes; as for Example, If I want a Suit, my Taylour comes in the Morning to my Lodging, where he works all Day, and at Night returns home; and ſo of the reſt. Theſe are continually about, looking out for Buſineſs, to the very Smiths, which carry with them their Anvil, their Furnace, and other Implements for their ordinary uſe. This helps to increaſe the Multitude.

Thirdly, All Perſons that are pretty well to paſs, never go abroad but on Horſe-back or in Chairs, with a numerous Train. If at *Paris* all Officers, Gentlemen, Lawyers, Phyſicians, and wealthy Citizens were always thus attended, the Streets would not be ſo free.

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In the fourth place, When a *Mandarine* goes any where, all his Inferiour Officers follow him in all their Formalities, ſo that they form a kind of Proceſſion. The Lords at Court, and Princes of the Blood, never are without a great Guard of Horſe, and being neceſſitated to go almoſt every Day to Court, their very Equipage is ſufficiently cumberſome to the City.

It is evident that theſe Cuſtoms which are peculiar to *China*, do very much increaſe the Throng, and it muſt not be wondred at, that the City ſhould ſeem much more Populous then it really is: And what muſt convince us, is, That as I have ſhewn there may more People lodge in *Paris* then in *Pekin*. Then taking it for granted that 20 or 25 Perſons there, take up no more room then 10 here, as I have already ſaid, we muſt conclude on the whole, that *Pekin* contains near twice as many as *Paris* does, and I think I ſhall not be very wide of the Truth, if I allow it Two Millions of Inhabitants.

I have been ſomething prolix upon this Point, becauſe I find it but ſlightly enquired into by moſt Hiſtorians. Nothing is more deceitful then Number at firſt ſight. We think upon a view of the Sky that the Stars are numberleſs, and when told, are ſurpriſed to find they are ſo few. To ſee an Army of a hundred thouſand Men in the Field, you would imagine all the World were there; and even thoſe who are uſed to ſuch a ſight, are apt to miſtake if they are not aware.

It is good to examine every thing our ſelves, eſpecially in *China*, where they never reckon but by Millions; and tho' in theſe Caſes one cannot be ſo very exact, it is not impoſſible to come ſomething near the Truth, that we may not deceive the inquiſitive Reader.

Almoſt all the Streets are built in a direct Line, the greateſt being about a hundred and twenty-foot broad,

broad, and a good League long, and the Shops where they ſell Silks and China-ware, which generally take up the whole Street, make a very agreeable Perſpective. The *Chineſe* have a Cuſtom which adds to the Beauty of the Sight. Each Shop-keeper puts out before his Houſe, on a little kind of Pedeſtal, a Board twenty or two and twenty Foot high Painted, Varniſhed, and often Gilt, on which are written in large Characters, the Names of the ſeveral Commodities he ſells. Theſe kind of Pilaſters, thus placed on each ſide of the Street, and almoſt at an equal Diſtance from each other, make a pretty odd ſhow. This is uſual in almoſt all the Cities of *China*, and I have in ſome places ſeen ſo very neat ones, that one would think they had deſigned to make a Stage of the Street.

Two things however detract much from their Beauty. The firſt, That the Houſes are not proportionable, being neither well built nor high enough. The ſecond, That they are always peſter'd with Mud or Duſt. That Country, ſo well regulated in every thing elſe, is very deficient in this: Both Winter and Summer are equally troubleſome to thoſe that walk abroad, and therefore are Horſes and Chairs ſo much in requeſt: For the Dirt ſpoils the ſilken Boots which they wear there; and the Duſt ſticks to their Clothes, eſpecially if they are made of Sattin, which they have a way of oyling, to give it the more luſtre. There is ſo much of the latter raiſed by the multitude of Horſes, that the City is always covered with a Cloud of it, which gets into the Houſes, and makes its way into the cloſeſt Cloſets, ſo that take what care you will, your Goods ſhould ever be full of it. They ſtrive to allay it by a continual beſprinkling the Streets with Water, but there is ſtill ſo much left, as is very offenſive, both as to Cleanlineſs and Health.

Of all the Building this mighty City conſiſts in, the

the only remarkable one is the Imperial Palace, which I have already deſcribed to your Highneſs. I ſhall only add, to give you a more exact Notion of it, that it not only includes the Emperor's Houſe and Gardens, but alſo a little Town inhabited by the Officers at Court, and a great number of Artificers who are employed and kept by the Emperor; for none but the Eunuchs lye in the inner Palace. The outward Town is defended by a very good Wall without, and divided from the Emperor's Houſe by one of leſs ſtrength. All the Houſes are very low and ill contrived, far worſe than thoſe in the *Tartars* City; ſo that the Quality of its Inhabitants, and the Conveniency of being near the Court, are the only things that it is commendable for.

The inner Palace is made up of Nine vaſt Courts, built in one Line, in length, for I comprehend not thoſe on the Wings, where are the Kitchin, Stables, and other Offices. The Arches thro' which you go from one to another are of Marble, and over each there ſtands a large ſquare Building, of a *Gothick* Architecture, the Timber of whoſe Roof becomes an odd kind of Ornament; for the Rafters being left of a length ſufficient to come out beyond the Wall, have other ſhorter pieces of Wood put upon them, which forms a kind of Corniſh that at a diſtance looks very fine. The ſides of each Court are cloſed by leſſer Apartments, or Galleries; but when you come to the Emperor's Lodgings, there, indeed, the *Portico*'s ſupported by ſtately Pillars, the white Marble-ſteps by which you aſcend to the inward Halls, the gilt Roofs, the Carved-work, Varniſh, Gilding and Painting, they are adorned with, the Floors made of Marble or Porcelain, but chiefly the great number of different Pieces of Architecture which they conſiſt of, dazle the Beholders Eye, and truly look great, becoming the Majeſty of ſo great a Monarch.

Monarch. But ſtill, the imperfect Notion the *Chineſe* have of all kind of Arts, is betrayed by the unpardonable Faults they are guilty of. The Apartments are ill contrived, the Ornaments irregular, and the former wants that Connexion which makes the Beauty and Conveniency of our Palaces. In a word, there is as it were an unſhapenneſs in the whole, which renders it very unpleaſing to Foreigners, and muſt needs offend any one that has the leaſt Notion of true Architecture.

Some Relations, however, cry it up as Arts Maſter-piece: The reaſon is, becauſe the Miſſionaries who wrote them, had never ſeen any thing beyond it, or that long uſe has accuſtomed them to it; for it is obſervable, that let us meaſure a thing never ſo, Time will at length make it ſupportable. Our Fancy habituates it ſelf to any ſight, and therefore an *European*, that has ſpent Twenty or Thirty years in *China*, can ſeldom give ſo good an account of it, as he that makes no ſtay there. As the true Accent of a Language is often loſt among thoſe who pronounce it ill, ſo the Sharpneſs of a Man's Judgment is blunted by converſing with thoſe who have none.

The Guards placed in the Gates and Avenues of the Palace have no other Arms but their *Cimeters*, and are not ſo numerous as I had at firſt imagined; but there is a multitude of *Lords* and *Mandarines*, conſtantly attending at the uſual time of Audience. Formerly the whole Palace was inhabited with Eunuchs, whoſe Power and Inſolence was grown to ſuch a pitch, that they were become an inſupportable Grievance to the Princes of the Empire; but the laſt Emperors of *China*, eſpecially thoſe deſcended from *Tartary*, have ſo humbled them, that they make at preſent no Figure at all. The youngeſt ſerve as Pages, the other are put to the vileſt Employments, their Task being to ſweep the Rooms and keep them clean;

and

and for the leaſt Fault they are ſeverely puniſhed by their Overſeers, who are very ſtrict.

The number of the Emperor's Wives or Concubines is not eaſily known, it being very great, and never fixed. They never were ſeen by any one but himſelf, and ſcarce durſt a Man inquire about them. They are all Maidens of Quality which the *Mandarines* or Governors of the Provinces chooſe, and as ſoon as they are entered the Palace they have no farther Correſpondency with their Friends, no not with their very Fathers. This forced and perpetual Solitude, (for moſt of them are never taken Notice of by the Emperor) the Intreagues they ſet on work to get into his Favour, and the Jealouſie they have of one another, which wracks them with Suſpicions, Envy and Hate, makes the moſt part of them very miſerable. Among thoſe who are ſo happy as to gain their Prince's approbation, Three are choſen which bear the Title of Queens. Theſe are in a far higher Degree of Honour than the reſt, having each their Lodgings, their Court, their Ladies of Honour, and other Female Attendants.

Nothing is wanting that can contribute to their Diverſion. Their Furniture, Cloaths, Attendance is all Rich and Magnificent: It is true, all their Happineſs conſiſts in pleaſing their Lord, for no Buſineſs of any Conſequence comes to their Knowledge; and as they do not aſſiſt the State with their Counſels, ſo they do not diſturb it with their Ambition.

The *Chineſe* differ very much from us in that Point; They ſay Heaven has indued Women with Good Nature, Modeſty, and Innocence, that they might look after their Families, and take care of their Childrens Education; but that Men are born with ſtrength of Body and Mind, with Wit and Generoſity, to Govern and Rule the World. They are aſtoniſhed when we tell them that with us the Scepter often

often falls into a Princeſſes Hands, and often ſay by way of Jeſt, *That Europe is the Ladies Kingdom.*

This, *My Lord,* is all that can be ſaid in General of the Emperor of *China*'s Palace, ſo much boaſted of by Hiſtorians, becauſe perhaps in all *Pekin* they met not with any worth their notice: For indeed all beſides are ſo mean, that it would be, if I may ſay it, a debaſing of our Terms to give the Name of Palace to their Grandees Houſes. They are but one Story high, as are all the reſt; tho', I confeſs, the great number of Lodgings for themſelves and their Servants, does make ſome amends for their want of Beauty and Magnificence. Not but that the *Chineſe* are as much as any Nation, in love with looking great and ſpending high, but the Cuſtom of the Country, and the Danger of being taken notice of, is a Curb to their Inclinations.

While I was at *Pekin,* one of the Chief *Mandarines* (I think he was a Prince) had built him a Houſe ſomething more lofty and ſtately than the reſt; this was imputed to him as a Crime, and thoſe whoſe Province it was, accuſed him before the Emperor, inſomuch that the *Mandarine,* fearful of the Event, pulled down his Houſe while the Buſineſs was under Examination, and before it had been decided. This Policy, in former Ages, made ſure the Foundation of the greateſt Monarchies, and could the *Romans* but have ever obſerved it, they might perhaps ſtill be as powerful in *Europe,* as the *Chineſe* are in *Aſia.*

Their Halls, where they plead, have little advantage over the reſt. The Courts are large, the Gates lofty, and ſometimes imbelliſhed with Ornaments of Architecture ſomething tolerable; but the inward Halls and Offices can boaſt neither State nor Cleanlineſs.

Religion indeed has made her Party better; you frequently meet with their Idols Temples, which the Princes

Princes and People, equally Superſtitious, have raiſed at a vaſt Expence, and beautified with great numbers of Statues. The Roofs eſpecially are obſervable, for the ſplendor of their Tiles varniſhed with yellow and green, numberleſs Figures curiouſly wrought, which are placed on every ſide, and Dragons ſhooting out at the Corners, painted with the ſame Colours. The Emperors have founded ſeveral within the outward Bounds of the Palace, among which Two more eminent then the reſt were built by the late Monarch, at the Prayers of the Queen his Mother, who was very much infatuated with the Religion of the *Lama's*, a ſort of *Tartarian* Prieſts, and the moſt Superſtitious of all the *Bonzes*.

We were forbidden the Entrance of theſe Temples, being told it would prove of an ill Conſequence, and give great Offence to our fellow Chriſtians, ſo that Curioſity gave place to our deſire of Edifying them. But we had the liberty of ſeeing the famous Imperial Obſervatory, ſo much celebrated by all Travellers. Be pleaſed, *My Lord,* to read what one of our ableſt Mathematicians, has upon their Report ſpoken of it. *Nothing in* Europe *is to be compared to it, whether for the Magnificency of the Place, or the Bigneſs of thoſe vaſt Brazen Machines, which having been during theſe Seven hundred years expoſed on the Platforms of thoſe large Towers, are ſtill as fair and entire as if they were but new molten. The Diviſions of thoſe Inſtruments are moſt exact, the Diſpoſition moſt proper for their Deſign, and the whole work performed with an unimitable neatneſs. In a word, it ſeemed that* China *inſulted her Siſter Nations, as if with all their Learning and Riches they could not come up to her in that point.*

Indeed if *China* inſults us by the Sumptuouſneſs of her Obſervatory, ſhe is in the right to do it thus, at 6000 Leagues diſtance, for were ſhe nearer, ſhe durſt not, for ſhame, make any Compariſon.

Full

Full of these great Thoughts of it we visited this famous Place, and found it to be as follows. First, Being entred into a Court of a moderate Extent, we were shewn a little House, their Dwelling, who look after the Observatory. Turning to your right Hand, as you come in, you meet with a very narrow Staircase, by which you mount to the top of a square Tower, such as we formerly used to fortifie our City Walls withal; it is indeed contiguous on the inside to that of *Pekin*, and raised but Ten or Twelve Feet above the Bulwork. Upon this Platform the *Chinese* Astronomers had placed their Instruments, which tho' but few, yet took up the whole Room: But Father *Verbiest*, when he undertook the Survey and Management of the Mathematicks, having judged them very useless, perswaded the Emperor to pull 'em down, and put up new ones of his own contriving. These old Instruments were still in the Hall near the Tower, buried in Dust and Oblivion. We saw them, but thro' a Window close set with Iron Bars. They appeared to us large, well cast, and of a shape not much unlike our Astronomical Rings. But they had laid in a by-Court a Celestial Globe of about three Foot Diameter; that we had a full view of; it was something enclining to an Oval divided with little Exactness, and the whole Work very Course.

They have in a lower Room near that place contrived a *Gnomon*. The Slit which gives Entrance to the Suns Rays, is raised about 8 Feet from the ground, *Horozontally* placed, and made of two Copper Plates suspended, which may be moved too and fro, to make the Orifice larger or smaller. Under it lyes a Table trimm'd with Brass, in the midst of which length-ways, they have struck a *Meridian* Line 15 Feet long, divided across by other Lines, which are neither exact nor fine. They have cut little holes out into the sides wherein to put water, to set it exactly Horison-

tal; and this indeed is of a *Chineſe* Contrivance the moſt tolerable of any I have ſeen, and might be ſerviceable to a careful Aſtronomer; but I queſtion whether their Skill who invented it is ſo great as to uſe it rightly.

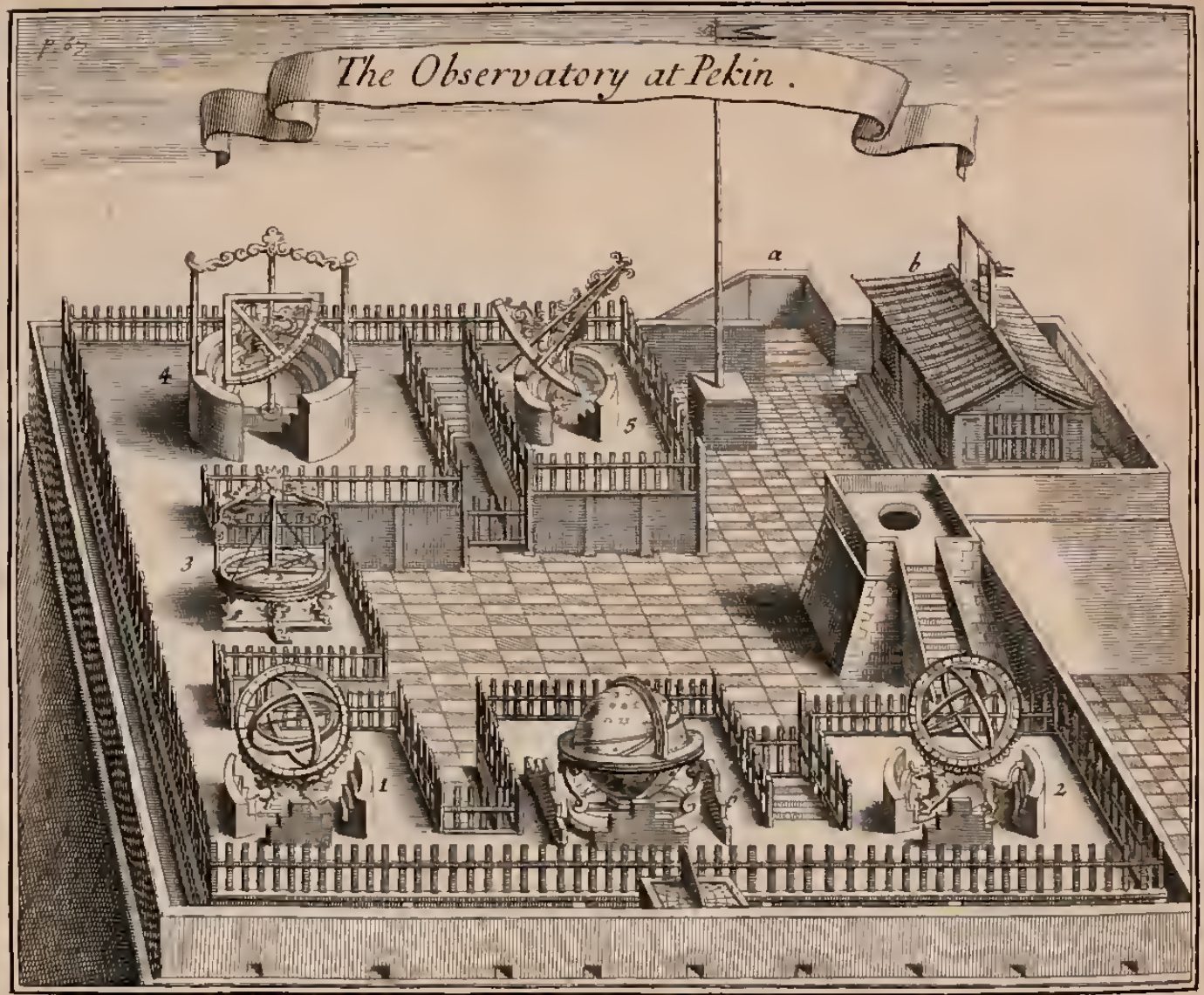
This Obſervatory, of little worth, as to its ancient Machines, and leſs as to its Situation and Building, is now enriched with ſeveral Brazen Inſtruments which Father *Verbieſt* has ſet up in it. They are large, well caſt, imbelliſhed with Repreſentations of Dragons, and very well diſpoſed to the Uſe they are deſigned for; and was but the niceneſs of their Diviſions anſwerable to that of the Work, and *Teleſcopes* faſtned to them inſtead of *Pins*, according to the new Method uſed by the *Royal Academy*, nothing that we have of that kind, might be brought into Competition with them. But tho' the Father was, no doubt, very careful of the Diviſion of his Circles, the *Chineſe* Artificer either was very negligent, or very incapable of following his Directions: ſo that I would rather truſt to a *Quadrant* made by one of our good Workmen at *Paris*, whoſe *Radius* ſhould be but one Foot and a half, than to that of ſix Feet which is at this Tower.

Perhaps your Highneſs may be willing at one view to ſee how they are diſpoſed. This Draught is very conformable to the Original, and far from flattering it, as Pictures and Cuts generally do, I may ſay that it does not expreſs half its Beauty. But each ſeveral Piece ſhewing but confuſedly in this little ſpace, I have added, in as few words as I could, an Explanation of the Frame and Embelliſhments of thoſe Noble Inſtruments.

I. *SPHÆRA*

p. 67.

The Observatory at Pekin.



a. Steps going up to the Observatory
b. A Retiring Room for those that make Observations

1. a Zodiacal Sphere
2 an Equinoctial Sphere

3 an Azimuthall Horizon
4. a Quadrant

5. A Sextant
6 a Celestiall Globe

I. *SPHÆRA ARMILLARIS ZODIACALIS, of ſix Feet in Diameter.*

This is ſupported by four Dragons Heads, whoſe Bodies after ſeveral windings are faſtned to the ends of two Brazen Beams laid a-croſs, that bear the whole weight of the Sphere. Theſe Dragons, which were picked out among all other Creatures, becauſe the Emperor bears them in his Coat of Arms, are as the *Chineſe* repreſent them, wrapt up in Clouds, with long Hair on their Heads between their Horns, a fuzzy Beard under their lower Jaw, flaming Eyes, long ſharp Teeth, their Mouth open, and breathing a whole Stream of Flame. Four Lions of the ſame Metal, ſtand under the End of the aforeſaid Beams, whoſe Heads are raiſed higher or lower by Screws faſtned with them. The Circles are divided both in their Exteriour and Interiour Surface by Croſs-lines into 360 Degrees each, and each Degree into 60 Minutes, and the latter into portions of 10 Seconds each by ſmall Pins.

II. *SPHÆRA EQUINOXIALIS of ſix Foot Diameter.*

This Sphere is ſupported by a Dragon, who bears it on his back bowed, and whoſe four Claws ſeize the four Ends of its Pedeſtal, which as the former is formed of two Brazen Beams Croſs-wiſe, whoſe Ends are alſo born by four ſmall Lions, which ſerve to ſet it right. The Deſign is noble and well performed.

III. *HORISON AZIMUTHALE, ſix Feet in Diameter.*

This Inſtrument, uſeful for the taking of Azimuths, is compoſed of a large Circle horiſontally placed. The double *Alhidada*, which ſerves it for a Diameter,

runs over all the Limb, and carries round along with it an upright Triangle, the upper Angle of which is faſtned to a Beam raiſed perpendicular from the Center of the ſaid Horiſon. Four folded Dragons bow their Heads under the inferiour Limb of that Circle, to make it faſt; and two others wound round two ſmall Columns, mount on either ſide Cemicircular-wiſe, as high as the ſaid Beam, to which they are faſtned, to keep the Triangle ſteady.

IV. *A large QUADRANT whoſe Radius is ſix Foot.*

The Limb is divided into Portions of 10 Seconds each; the Lead which ſhews its Vertical Situation, weighs a Pound, and hangs from the Center by a very fine Braſs-wyre. The *Alhidada* moves eaſily round the *Limb*. A Dragon folded in ſeveral Rings, and wrapt up in Clouds, ſeizes on all parts the ſeveral Plates of the Inſtrument to faſten them, leaſt they ſhould ſtart out of their due Poſition. The whole Body of the *Quadrant* hangs in the Air, and a fixed *Axis* runs thro' its Center, round which the *Quadrant* turns towards the Parts of the Heavens which the Mathematician chooſes to obſerve: And leaſt its weight ſhould cauſe it to ſhiver, and loſe its Vertical Poſition, a Beam is raiſed on each ſide, ſecured at the bottom by a Dragon, and faſtned to the middle Beam or Axis by Clouds which ſeem to come out of the Air. The whole Work is ſolid and well contrived.

V. *A SEXTANT, whoſe Radius is about eight Feet.*

This repreſents the ſixth Part of a great Circle born by a Beam, the Baſis of which is Concave, made faſt with Dragons, and croſſed in the middle by a Brazen Pillar, on one end of which is an Engine, the help of whoſe Wheels ſerves to facilitate the Motion

Motion of that Inſtrument. On this Engine reſts the middle of a ſmall Brazen Beam which repreſents a *Radius* of the Sextant, and is faſtned to it. Its upper part is terminated by a big *Cilinder*, which is the Center, round which the *Alhidada* turns, and the lower is extended above two Feet beyond the Limb, that it may be graſped by the Pully which ſerves to raiſe it. Theſe large and heavy Machines are of greater Ornament than uſe.

VI. *A CELESTIAL GLOBE of ſix Feet Diameter.*

This in my opinion is the faireſt and beſt faſhioned of all the Inſtruments. The Globe it ſelf is Brazen, exactly round and ſmooth: The Stars well made, and in their true places, and all the Circles of a proportionable breadth and thickneſs. It is beſides ſo well hung that the leaſt touch moves it, and tho' it is above Two thouſand weight, the leaſt Child may elevate it to any Degree. On its large Concave *Baſis* reſt in an oppoſite Station four Dragons, whoſe Hair ſtanding up an end, ſupport a noble *Horiſon* commendable by its Breadth, its ſeveral Ornaments, and the Delicacy and Niceneſs of the Work. The *Meridian* in which the *Pole* is fixed, reſts upon Clouds that iſſue out of the Baſis, and ſlides eaſily between them, its motion being facilitated by ſome hidden Wheels, and moves with it the whole Globe to give it the required *Elevation*. Beſides which the Horiſon, Dragons, and two Brazen Beams which lye croſs in the Center of the Baſis's Concavity, are all moved at pleaſure, without ſtirring the Baſis, which ſtill remains fixed; this facilitates the due placing of the Horiſon, whether in reſpect of the Natural Horiſon, or in reſpect of the Globe. I wondred how Men, who live Six thouſand Leagues from us, could go through ſuch a piece of Work; and I muſt own that if all the

Circles which are divided, had been corrected by ſome of our Workmen, nothing could be more perfect in that kind. Theſe Machines being moſt of them above 10 feet from the Ground, have for the Aſtronomers greater conveniency, Marble Steps round them, cut Amphitheater-wiſe.

How inviting ſoever theſe new Inſtruments may ſeem, the *Chineſe* could never have been perſwaded to make uſe of them, and leave their old ones, without an eſpecial Order from the Emperor to that effect. They are more fond of the moſt defective Piece of Antiquity then of the perfecteſt Novelty, differing much in that from us who are in love with nothing but what is new. Indeed we are all to blame, for Time can add to or detract nothing from the real worth of things: But if we do not take great care of our ſelves, Fancy, Cuſtom, and Prejudice, will prevail over our Underſtanding, which only perceiving the Difference of things, is only able to judge of it. If this Failing of the *Chineſe* extended but to their Temporal Concerns, the Miſchief perhaps would not be great; but it unhappily reaches to the Point of Religion; and whereas in *Europe* it ſeems that a Doctrine, tho' never ſo abſurd, has a Title to our Belief when recommended by Novelty, in *China* it is quite contrary; for they think it a ſufficient reaſon to reject the Chriſtian Faith, becauſe in reſpect of their Monarchy it is not old enough: As tho' Time and Ignorance were to be preferred to Truth, or that long ſtanding could render Superſtition lawful or reaſonable.

The Fondneſs for Antiquity and for the Obſervance of ancient Cuſtoms, is perhaps what keeps the *Chineſe* ſo cloſe to their Aſtronomical Obſervations, for it has ever been their continual Practiſe, but it is a ſhame, that they have during ſo long a time made no greater Improvements. One would think, that having watched

watched the Motions of the Stars above 4000 years, they ſhould be perfectly acquainted with them; yet when our Miſſionaries entered that Country, they found them to be ſo unskilful herein, that with all their care they never could arrive to the Compoſing of an Exact Calendar; and their Tables of Eclipſes were ſo uncorrect, that ſcarce could they foretel about what time that of the Sun ſhould happen. As for thoſe two Points they are now at reſt, for thoſe Fathers have ſettled the Calendar, and that which is given out in the beginning of each year, notes with the greateſt nicety all the Motions of the Heavens which are during the year to happen out of Courſe.

However they ſtill continue their Obſervations. Five Mathematicians ſpend every Night on the Tower in watching what paſſes over head; one is gazing towards the *Zenith*, another to the *Eaſt*, a third to the *Weſt*, the fourth turns his Eyes *Southwards*, and a fifth *Northwards*, that nothing of what happens in the four Corners of the World may ſcape their diligent Obſervation. They take notice of the Winds, the Rain, the Air, of unuſual *Phenomena's*, ſuch as are Eclipſes, the Conjunction or Oppoſition of Planets, Fires, Meteors, and all that may be uſeful. This they keep a ſtrict accompt of, which they bring in every Morning to the Surveyor of the Mathematicks, to be regiſtred in his Office. If this had always been practiſed by able and careful Mathematicians, we ſhould have a great number of curious Remarks; but beſides that, theſe Aſtronomers are very unskilful, they take little care to improve that Science; and provided their Salary be paid as uſual, and their Income conſtant, they are in no great trouble about the Alterations and Changes which happen in the Sky. But if theſe Phenomena's are very apparent, as when there happens an Eclipſe, or a Comet appears, they dare not be altogether ſo negligent.

All Nations have ever been aſtoniſhed at Eclipſes, of which they could not diſcover the Cauſe; there is nothing ſo extravagant as the ſeveral Reaſons ſome have given for it, but one would wonder that the *Chineſe*, who as to Aſtronomy may juſtly claim Seniority over all the World beſides, have reaſoned as abſurdly on that Point as the reſt. They have fancied that in Heaven there is a prodigious great Dragon, who is a profeſſed Enemy to the Sun and Moon, and ready at all times to eat them up. For this reaſon, as ſoon as they perceive an Eclipſe, they all make a terrible rattling with Drums and braſs Kettles, till the Monſter frightned at the noiſe has let go his Prey. Perſons of Quality, who have read our Books, have for theſe ſeveral years been undeceived, but (eſpecially if the Sun looſeth its Light) the old Cuſtoms are ſtill obſerved at *Pekin*, which (as is uſual) are at once very Superſtitious and very Ridiculous. While the Aſtronomers are on the Tower to make their Obſervations, the chief *Mandarines* belonging to the *Lipou* fall on their Knees in a Hall or Court of the Palace, looking attentively that way, and frequently bowing towards the Sun, to expreſs the pity they take of him, or rather to the Dragon, to beg him not to moleſt the World, by depriving it of ſo neceſſary a Planet.

Now all that the Mathematicians have foretold concerning the Eclipſe muſt prove true, ſhould it happen ſooner or later, be greater or leſs, longer or ſhorter, the Surveyor and his Brethren would go near to loſe their Places. But they never run that hazard; let what will happen the Regiſters are ever exact; and provided the Officers be well paid, they are ever in Fee with the Heavens.

I am afraid, *My Lord*, that I have been too tedious in this Digreſſion; your Highneſs having for theſe ſeveral years been buſied in Affairs of greater moment, muſt needs have little regard for ſuch obſtruſe Notions,

ons, unfit to excite you to thoſe elevated Sentiments ſo natural to ſuch great Souls as yours, and I might have ſpent my time more to your Satisfaction in writing the Wars of the *Tartars*, and the Conqueſt of *China*. But beſides the inclination every Man has to ſpeak of what belongs to his Profeſſion, I have perhaps been over-ruled by the habit we contract in *China* to entertain great Perſons with theſe Matters; and have hoped, that a Prince curious, and endued with a *Genius* to which nothing is impoſſible, would with patience hear, that which makes the Delight of the Greateſt and moſt Learned Emperor in the whole World.

I ſhould do *Pekin* a very great injuſtice if I paſſed over in ſilence its noble Gates and ſtately Walls, which indeed become an Imperial City. The former are not embelliſhed with Statues or other Carving as are moſt Publick Buildings in *China*, but all their Beauty conſiſts in a prodigious height, which at a Diſtance makes the fineſt ſhew in the World. They conſiſt in two large ſquare Buildings built ſeparately, but bound together by two tall and very thick Walls, ſo that they form a Square which may contain above Five hundred Men in Battel. The firſt Building, which looks like a Fortreſs, faces the Road. There is no way thro' it, but you go in at the Side-wall, where there is a Gate proportionable to all the reſt; then you turn to the Right, and meet with the ſecond Tower which commands the City, and has a Gate like the former, but whoſe Gate-way is ſo long that it grows dark towards the middle. There they conſtantly keep a *Corps du Guard*, and a ſmall Magazine to ſupply it readily with Stores in caſe of Neceſſity.

If you reſpect only the neatneſs of the Workmanſhip, and the Ornaments of Architecture, I muſt, indeed, confeſs, that the Gates of *Paris* are incomparably finer. But yet, when a Man approaches *Pekin*, he

he muſt own that theſe immenſe Buildings, and, if I may ſpeak it, thoſe proud Maſſes have in their unſhapeneſs a State preferrable to all our Ornaments. The Arches are built with Marble, and the reſt with very large Brick, bound with excellent Mortar.

The Walls are anſwerable to their Gates, ſo tall that they hide the whole City, and ſo thick that Centries on Horſe-back are placed upon them. From place to place, at a Bow-ſhots diſtance, they are defended with ſquare Towers. The Ditch is dry, but very broad and deep. All is regular, and as well kept as if they were in continual Apprehenſion of a Siege. This, *My Lord*, is a pretty exact Deſcription of the chief City of all *China*, valuable by its Extent, large Gates, ſtrong Walls, ſumptuous Palace, good Garriſon, (which conſiſts in the beſt Forces of the whole Empire) and the Number of its Inhabitants, but commendable for nothing elſe.

What may be ſaid of all the reſt in general is this; The *Chineſe* divide them into two kinds. Thoſe which are ſolely deſigned for the Defence of the Country they call *Cities of War*, and the reſt *Towns of Traffick*. The fortified Places which I have ſeen are not much ſtronger than the others, unleſs it be by their Situation, which makes ſome almoſt inacceſſible. The Frontier Towns, eſpecially thoſe near *Tartary*, are ſomewhat ſingular; and our Miſſionaries have aſſured me, that there were ſeveral narrow Paſſages ſo well fortified, that it was almoſt impoſſible to force them: I my ſelf have ſeen ſome which a hundred Men might eaſily defend againſt a whole Army. Their uſual Fortifications are a good Bulwork, ſome Towers, Brick-walls, and a large and deep Ditch, filled with running Water. This is all the *Chineſe* Engineers skill conſiſts in, which indeed is no wonder, ſince our ſelves knew no better, before Cannons were in uſe, which has put us upon inventing new ways of defending

ing our Cities, as there were new ones contrived of attacking them.

I confeſs, *My Lord*, that running over all thoſe Cities, which their Inhabitants eſteem the ſtrongeſt in the World, I have often with no little pleaſure reflected on the facility with which *Lewis* the Great would ſubdue thoſe Provinces, if Nature had made us a little nearer Neighbours to *China*; he whom the ſtouteſt Places in *Europe* can at beſt withſtand but during a few days. God has, by an equal and juſt Diſtribution, given the *Chineſe* but Ordinary Commanders, becauſe no Extraordinary Actions could be performed there; but to vanquiſh ſuch Enemies as ours, ſo great a Hero was wholly neceſſary.

It muſt however be granted, that in the way of Fortification the *Chineſe* have outdone all the Ancients in the prodigious Work that defends part of their Country. 'Tis that which we call the Great Wall, and with themſelves ſtile *Van li Cham, Chim, The Wall* 10000 *Stadium's long*, which reaches from the Eaſtern Ocean to the Province of *Chanſi*: Not that its length is ſo great as they ſpeak it; but if you reckon all its windings, it will really appear to be no leſs than 500 Leagues. You muſt not conceive it as a plain Wall, for it is fortified with Towers much like the City Walls I have mentioned; and in the places where the Paſſes might be more eaſily forced, they have raiſed two or three Bulworks one behind another, which may give themſelves a mutual Defence, whoſe enormous Thickneſs, and the Forts which Command all the Avenues, being all guarded by great numbers of Forces, protect the *Chineſe* from all Attempts on that ſide.

China being divided from *Tartary* by a Chain of Mountains, the Wall has been carried on over the higheſt Hills, and is now tall and then low as the Ground allowed; for you muſt not think, as ſome have

have imagined, that the Top of it is level throughout, and that from the bottom of the deepeſt Vales it could have been raiſed to be as high as the talleſt Mountains. So when they ſay that it is of a wonderful height, we muſt underſtand it of the Spot of Ground it is built on; for of it ſelf it is rather lower than thoſe of their Cities, and but four, or at moſt, five feet in thickneſs.

It is almoſt all built with Brick, bound with ſuch ſtrong Mortar, that not only it has laſted theſe ſeveral Ages, but is ſcarce the worſe. It is above 1800 years ſince Emperor *Chihohamti* raiſed it to prevent the Inſurrections of the Neighbouring *Tartars*. This was at once one of the greateſt and maddeſt Undertakings that I ever heard of; for tho' indeed it was a prudent Caution of the *Chineſe* thus to guard the eaſieſt Avenues, how ridiculous was it of them to carry their Wall to the top of ſome Precipices which the Birds can ſcarce reach with their Flight, and on which it is impoſſible the *Tartarian* Horſe ſhould aſcend: And if they could fancy that an Army could have clambered up thither, how could they believe that ſo thin and low a Wall as they have made it in ſuch places, could be of any Defence.

As for my part, I admire how the Materials have been conveyed and made uſe of there; and, indeed, it was not done without a vaſt Charge, and the loſs of more Men then would have periſhed by the greateſt Fury of their Enemies. It is ſaid, that during the Reigns of the *Chineſe* Emperors, this Wall was guarded by a Million of Soldiers; but now that part of *Tartary* belongs to *China*, they are content with manning well the worſt ſituated, but beſt fortified Parts of it.

Among the other Fortreſſes of the Kingdom, there are above a Thouſand of the firſt rate; the reſt are leſs remarkable, and indeed ſcarce deſerve that Name; yet

yet all are very well garriſoned, and by that one may judge what vaſt Armies are conſtantly kept on foot. However, that is not the *Chineſe*'s chiefeſt boaſt, for if they are conſidered but as to the Military part, they will raiſe our wonder, but who can enough admire the Numbers, Greatneſs, Beauty, and Government of their Trading Towns? They are generally divided into three Claſſes; of the firſt there are above 160, of the ſecond 270, and of the third near 1200, beſides near 300 walled Cities more, which they leave out as not worth obſerving, tho' they are almoſt all well inhabited and traded. The greater and leſſer Villages are numberleſs, eſpecially thoſe of the Southern Provinces. In the Province of *Chanſi* and *Chenſi* they are for the moſt part ſurrounded with Walls and good Ditches, with Iron Gates which the Country People ſhut at Night, and guard in the Day-time, to protect themſelves from Thieves, as alſo from the Soldiers, who as they paſs by, which they continually do, would in ſpight of their Officers inſult them.

The largeneſs of theſe Cities is not leſs amazing then their number. *Pekin*, which I have already had the honour to mention to your Highneſs, is not to be compared to *Nankin*, or, as it is now called, *Kiamnin*, a Town formerly encloſed within three Walls, the outermoſt of which was 16 long Leagues round. Some Works of it are ſtill to be ſeen, which one would rather think to be the Bounds of a Province then a City. When the Emperors kept their Court there, its Inhabitants were, no doubt, numberleſs. Its Situation, Haven, Plenty, the Fertility of the Neighbouring Lands, and the Canals made near it for the Improvement of Trade, could not but make it a fine City. It has ſince loſt much of its former Splendour, however, if you include thoſe who live in its Suburbs, and on the Canals, it is ſtill more populous than *Pekin*, and tho' the unarable Hills, the ploughed Lands,

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Gardens, and vaſt empty Places which are within its Walls, render it really leſs then it ſeems, what is inhabited does ſtill make a prodigious big City.

The Streets are moderately broad, but very well paved; The Houſes low, but cleanly, and the Shops very rich, being filled with Stuffs, Silks, and other coſtly Wares: In a word, it is as the Center of the Empire, where you may find all the Curioſities which are produced in it. There the moſt famous Doctors and the *Mandarins* who are out of Buſineſs, uſually ſettle themſelves, having the conveniency of ſeveral Libraries filled with choice of good Books; their Printing is fairer, their Artificers are better Workmen, the Tongue more polite, and the Accent ſmother than any where elſe; and truly no other City were more proper for the Emperor's Seat, were it not for the State's advantage that he ſhould reſide near the Frontiers. It is alſo famous for ſeveral other Reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe of the River *Kiam* on which it is ſituated, which is the Largeſt, Deepeſt, and moſt Navigable in the whole Empire; being, in that part of it which bathes the City, near half a League broad.

Secondly, The Royal Obſervatory on the Top of a Mountain, where ſtood formerly a Platform and proper Inſtruments (which were ſince removed to *Pekin*) but now only ſome old Buildings remain, and a large ſquare Hall, newly built as an Acknowledgment of Emperor *Cambi*'s kind Viſit to that City. This was a Trick of the *Mandarins*, who under pretence of raiſing a Monument of that Prince's Favour, got conſiderable Sums of Money from the Inhabitants, not half of which was laid out.

In the third place for a large Tower, vulgarly called the *China Tower*. There is without the City (and not within, as ſome have wrote) a Houſe named by the *Chineſe*, *The Temple of Gratitude*, (*Pao-gren-ſſe*) built 300 years ago by Emperor *Yonlo*. It is raiſed on a Maſſive

Maſſive *Baſis*, built with Brick, and ſurrounded with a Rail of unpoliſhed Marble: There are ten or twelve Steps all round it, by which you aſcend to the lowermoſt Hall, the Floor of which ſtands one foot higher than the *Baſis*, leaving a little Walk two feet wide all round it.

The Front of this Hall or Temple is adorned with a Gallery and ſome Pillars. The Roofs (for in *China* there are uſually two, one next to the top of the Wall, and a narrower over that) are covered with Green varniſhed ſhining Tiles; and the Ceiling within is painted, and made up of ſeveral little Pieces differently wrought one within the other, which with the *Chineſe* is no little Ornament. I confeſs that medley of Beams, Jices, Rafters and Pinions, bears a ſurpriſing ſingularity, becauſe we muſt needs judge that ſuch a Walk was not done without great Expence: But to ſpeak truth, it proceeds only from the Ignorance of their Workmen, who never could find out Noble Simplicity which becomes at once the Solidity and Beauty of our Buildings.

This Hall has no Light but what comes in at the Doors, of which there are three very large ones that give admittance into the Tower I ſpeak of, which is part of this Temple. It is of an Octogonal Figure, about 40 Feet broad, ſo that each ſide is 15 Foot wide. A Wall in the like form is built round it, at two Fathoms and a half Diſtance, and being moderately high, ſupports the one ſide of a Pent-houſe, which iſſues from the Tower, and thus makes a pretty kind of a Gallery. This Tower is nine Stories high, each Story being adorned with a Corniſh three Feet wide, at the bottom of the Windows, and diſtinguiſhed by little Pent-houſes like the former, but narrower, and (like the Tower it ſelf) decreaſing in breadth as they increaſe in height.

The Wall is, at the bottom, at leaſt twelve Feet thick,

thick, and above eight and a half at the top; incruſted with *China* Ware laid flat-wiſe; for tho' the Weather has ſomething impaired its Beauty, there is yet enough remaining to ſhew that it is real *China*, tho' of the courſer ſort; ſince 'tis impoſſible that Bricks could have retained that Luſtre above 300 years.

The Stair-caſe within is narrow and troubleſome, the Steps being very high. Each Story is made up of thick pieces of Timber laid croſs-wiſe, and on them a Floor, the Cieling of each Room being enriched with Paintings, if *their* Painting can enrich a Room. The Walls of the upper Rooms bear ſeveral ſmall *Niches* full of Carved Idols, which makes a pretty kind of Checker. The whole Work is Gilt, and looks like carved Stone or Marble; but I believe it to be only Brick, for the *Chineſe* are very skilful in ſtamping all kind of Ornaments on it, which thro' the fineneſs of their ſifted Mould, becomes more eaſie to them then to us.

The firſt Floor is the moſt lofty, but the reſt are of an equal height. I have told the Steps, which are 190 in number, being almoſt all 10 large Inches high, having meaſured them very nicely, which amounts to 158 Feet. If you add to this the height of the Baſis, that of the ninth Story, which has no Steps to mount thence to the Top, and the *Cubilo*, the Sum will be at leaſt 200 Feet in height from the Ground.

This Cubilo is not one of the leaſt Ornaments of that Building, being, as it were an extraordinary thick Maſt, or May-Pole, which from the Floor of the eighth Story riſes above 30 Feet higher than the top of the Tower. Round it a great piece of Iron runs in a Spiral-line, ſeveral Feet diſtant from the Pole, ſo that it looks like a hollow Cave, on the top of which is placed a very large golden Ball. This it is that the *Chineſe* call the *Porcelain Tower*, and with ſome *Europeans* would name the *Brick-one*. Whatever it may be made

made of, it is undoubtedly the beſt contrived and nobleſt Structure of all the *Eaſt*. From its Top you have a Proſpect of the whole City, and eſpecially of the Mountain on which ſtands the Obſervatory, which lyes a good League North-Eaſt and by Eaſt from it.

Nankin was alſo famous for the bigneſs of its Bells, but their weight having worn down the Steeple which they were hung in, the whole Building fell down, and they ſtill lye upon the ground. There is one in the way between our Colledge & the Obſervatory whoſe height is 11 Feet, and that of its Handle or Ear by which it hangs 2, and its Diameter is 7; the outward Circumference is 22 Feet, which indeed leſſens towards the top, but not in the ſame proportion with our Bells here, for the Figure is almoſt a Cilinder, if you take away a conſiderable Swelling towards the middle where the Circumference is equal to that of the bottom. Its lower Brim is ſix Inches and a half thick, but grows thinner and thinner, to the bowing where the *Cone* begins, ſo that under the Ear it is not above two Inches thick, which may be meaſured exactly enough, becauſe they bore their Bells at the top to increaſe their Sound, as they conceit it. The Metal is brittle, and the Caſt not clear, being full of little knobs.

Theſe Bells were caſt during the Ninth Reign before this. Each have their particular Name; the one being called *Tchoui*, *The Hanger*; another *Che*, *The Eater*; a third *Choui*, or *So*, *The Sleeper*; and a fourth *Si*, *The Flyer*; for tho' there are but three in the City, the *Chineſe* Geographers place a fourth beyond the River *Kiam*. Now ſuppoſing that a Cubical Foot of Braſs weighs 648 Pound, the Bell which I meaſured ſhould weigh about 90 Thouſand, ſuppoſing it to be of an equal bigneſs and thickneſs. As for the bigneſs, there is no great difference, but the thickneſs leſſens from the bottom to the top, where, as I have ſaid, it is but two Inches think; ſo that allowing it be one

with another four Inches thick and better throughout, the Bell will weigh about 50000 l. and be twice as heavy as that at *Erfort*, which Father *Kircher* affirms to be the biggeſt in the World.

But this is nothing to what there is at *Pekin*, which can ſhew ſeven caſt under the Reign of Emperor *Youlo* near 300 years ago, weighing 120000 *l.* each. They are 11 Feet wide, 40 round, and 12 high, beſides the Ear, which is at leaſt 3 foot in height. This, *My Lord*, I own is ſurpriſing, and could ſcarce be believed, had we not Father *Verbieſt*'s word for it, who himſelf has exactly meaſured them.

But as much as their Bells exceeds ours in bigneſs, ſo much do ours exceed them in Sound, whether our Metal or Caſt be better. Be pleaſed however to read what Father *Magalhaens* writes of that which is in the Palace at *Pekin*. *Its ſound*, ſays he, *is ſo clear, ſo pleaſant, and harmonious, that it ſeems to proceed from a Muſical Inſtrument much rather than a Bell.* All this muſt be underſtood comparatively; and perhaps the Author had never heard any thing of that kind like it. As for my part, all the Bells I have heard there, have ſeemed to me to make but a dull, obſcure noiſe, as one may eaſily imagine, for their Clappers are not made of Iron, but Wood. However the thing be (for it deſerves not a longer Enquiry) it is certain that the *Chineſe* have in all their Cities very big ones, with which they diſtinguiſh the Watches of the Night. Of theſe they uſually reckon five, from ſeven or eight of the Clock in the Evening: They begin the firſt with ſtriking once, which they repeat a moment after, and ſo on till the ſecond Watch, when they ſtrike two ſtrokes, at the third three; and ſo on: So that theſe Bells are as ſo many repeating Clocks, which every other moment inform you what time of Night it is. They alſo uſe for the ſame purpoſe a very great Drum, which they beat in the ſame manner.

Theſe

Theſe two Imperial Cities, which I have now been deſcribing, might alone render *China* deſervedly famous, but the Metropolis of moſt Provinces are ſo big, that each were fit to be the Chief of an Empire. *Signanfou*, the Capital City of *Chenſi*, is three Leagues round. I have had the Curioſity to meaſure it my ſelf, which was not difficult, the Walls which incloſe it making an exact Square. Its Ditches, which are partly dry and partly filled with water, are very fine; its Walls thick and tall, as well as the ſquare Towers that defend them; its Bulworks very broad; and its Gates, at leaſt ſome, moſt ſtately, and like thoſe at *Pekin*. The City is divided into two Parts by an Earthen Wall, which runs almoſt from one End to the other. The one half is inhabited by the *Tartars*, who keep the biggeſt Garriſon, tho' in the other where the *Chineſe* dwell, there be alſo a good Body of Troops. There may ſtill be ſeen an old Palace, the former Reſidence of the ancient Kings of that Country, who were powerful, not only becauſe of the vaſt Extent of their Dominions, but alſo thro' the Bravery and Courage of their Subjects; for among all the *Chineſe*, there are not any better proportioned, or more ſtrong, ſtout and laborious than theſe. As for the Houſes, they are, as every where elſe in *China*, low and not over-well built; their Furniture is not ſo neat as in the Southern Parts, their Varniſh not ſo ſmooth, their *China* ſo abundant, or their Workmen ſo ingenious.

Hamt-chéou, the Chief City of the Province of *Chekiam*, is alſo one of the richeſt and greateſt in the Empire. The *Chineſe* ſay it is four Leagues round, and, I believe, they tell no lye. The Streets are as full of People as at *Paris*, and the Suburbs beſides being very large, and the Canals crowded with an infinite number of Boats, I believe it to be as populous as the greateſt Cities in *Europe*. The Garriſon conſiſts

in 10000 Men, 3000 of which are *Chineſe*. The Water of their Canals is not clear, nor their Streets broad, but the Shops are neat, and the Merchants there are reputed to be very rich.

Eaſtwards from the City runs a River half a League broad, being near the Sea, but indeed not very conſiderable, for a little higher it is but an uſeleſs Torrent, which runs thro' abundance of Rocks. A Lake lyes cloſe to it to the Weſtwards, which at moſt is two Leagues round. The Water is clear, but very ſhallow; Deep enough however for ſome large Flat-bottom'd Boats, which the *Chineſe* keep there, like ſo many floating Iſlands, where their young People take their Pleaſure themſelves. In the middle ſtands an Iſland where they uſually land, having built there a Temple and ſome Houſes for their Diverſion. Of this Lake ſome Relations have made an Inchanted Place. I have read that it was built round with ſtately Houſes and noble Palaces. This might be; but if true, a great care was certainly taken that not ſo much as the leaſt Track or Memory of it ſhould remain. But perhaps they gave that Name to ſome Wooden thatched Dwellings, in which *China* does every where abound, then indeed a ſhort while might make great Alterations, for Time needs not uſe it's utmoſt Efforts to pull them down. However, if this City is not ſo eminent for Buildings, it is commendable for being one of the beſt ſituated in the Empire, for the prodigious Number of its Inhabitants, the Conveniency of its Canals, and the great Traffick which is made there in the fineſt Silks in the World.

What is ſurpriſing in *China* is, That whereas, being gone thro' one of theſe Cities, you would ſcarce expect to meet with the like, you are hardly out of ſight of it before you are in view of ſuch another. As for example; Going along the great Canal from *Hamt-chéou* you come to *Sout-chéou*, which is not far

from

from it, and if you believe the Inhabitants, contains four Leagues in Circuit, being indeed of a vaſt Extent. It is alſo the uſual Reſidence of a Viceroy, and has as great a Trade as any City in the Empire. I do not find it to be proportionably as Populous as thoſe I have mentioned; but the Suburbs, and multitude of Boats amaze new Comers. Thoſe who have the Patience to ſpend a few Minutes on the Water-ſide, and view the Throngs of People that come to cheapen Commodities, would imagine it to be a Fair to which the whole Empire were crowding; and the Officers there, tho' not over ſtrict, are ſo buſied in receiving the Cuſtoms, that they are obliged to put off to the next day a great many Traders, who come to make their Payments. This continual Hurry among the moſt covetous Nation in the World, ſhould occaſion frequent Quarrels, but their Government is ſo good, and the *Mandarines* Orders ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that beſides Abuſive Language, in which the *Chineſe* are very fluent, other Injuries are ſeldom offered. Not far from *Sout-chéou* you meet with other Cities at ſmall Diſtances from each other, ſome a League and a half, and ſome two Leagues round. As ſoon as you are come to the River *Kiam*, you meet with *Shin Kiamſon*, a Town built on its Banks, one of whoſe very Suburbs, which lyes North-weſt, is a large German League in Circuit; This Place is ſo Populous, that when I paſſed thro' it, it was no ſmall trouble to me to make my way thro' the Crowd, and is uſually as great in thoſe Streets as here at a Solemn Proceſſion. Over againſt it, on the other ſide of the River, ſtands *Qua-chéou*, another great trading Town; a little beyond lyes *Yam chéou*, one of the moſt remarkable Cities in the whole Empire, which, according to the *Chineſe*, contains two Millions of Inhabitants.

If I did not here recal my ſelf, I ſhould unawares deſcribe all the Cities of *China*; but deſigning only

to give your Highneſs a general account of their Largeneſs and Number, I ſhall without a needleſs, tedious deſcending into Particulars, aſſure your Eminency that my ſelf have ſeen ſeven or eight of them as big at leaſt as *Paris*, beſides ſeveral others where I have not been, which I am aſſured are not leſs. There are fourſcore of the firſt Rank, equal to *Lyons* or *Bourdeaux*. Among 260 of the Second, above a Hundred are like *Orleance*; and among 1200 of the Third, there are five or ſix hundred as conſiderable as *Rochel* or *Angouleſme*; beſides an innumerable quantity of Villages greater and more populous than *Marenes* and St. *John de Luz*. Theſe, *My Lord*, are no *Hyperbole's*, neither do I ſpeak by Hear-ſay, but having travelled in Perſon over the greateſt part of *China*, I hope your Highneſs will favour me ſo far, as not to queſtion the ſincerity of my Relation.

I ſhall conclude with the ſeveral Ports and Havens of *China*, which do not a little contribute to the Increaſe of its Wealth. Its *Chineſe* Emperors had forbid the Entrance of them to Foreigners; but the *Tartars*, more fond of Money than of Ancient Cuſtoms, have of late years granted a free Acceſs to all Nations.

The firſt, beginning Southwards, is *Macao*, famous for the great Traffick which the *Portugueſe* formerly made there, before the *Dutch* had expelled them out of the greateſt part of the *Indies*. They ſtill have a Fortreſs in it, but their Garriſon is ſmall, as indeed they are not able to keep a very great one. Beſides, their beſt way to maintain themſelves in this Poſt is, to ingratiate themſelves with the *Chineſe*, by a blind obſequiouſneſs to all their Commands, which they do very wiſely. The Town, if I may ſo call a few Houſes not incloſed with any Walls, is built on a narrow uneven Soil, on the Point of a ſmall Iſland which commands a good Road where Ships, by the means of ſeveral other little Iſlands which lye to the Windwards,

wards, are ſecure from any Storm. The Haven is Narrow, but Safe and Commodious. All the Cuſtoms belong to the Emperor; and tho' the *Portugueſe* do ſtill preſerve a Form of Government among themſelves, yet they obey the *Mandarines* in whatſoever bears the leaſt Relation to the *Chineſe*.

The ſecond Haven of this Coaſt is formed by a pretty wide River, up the which great Veſſels can go as far as *Canton*. This place is very convenient to Foreigners, becauſe the City ſupplies them with abundance of all kind of Merchandiſes and Refreſhments; but the *Mandarines* are not fond of letting them approach too near their Walls, leaſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed, or rather, they are unwilling that their Merchants ſhould deal with ours, to whom themſelves do underhand ſell their Commodities by the means of their Brokers.

The Province of *Fokien* adjoyning to that of *Canton* has another celebrated Haven, which they call *Emoui*, from the Iſland which forms it, for it is properly ſpeaking, but a Road lockt in on the one hand by the Continent, and on the other by the ſaid Iſland. The biggeſt Ships ride here ſecure, and the Banks ſo high, that they may come as near the Shoar as they will. The late great improvement of Trade in that City, invites to it a conſiderable number of People, and this Poſt has been judged of ſuch a Conſequence, that the Emperor has for ſome years paſt kept there a Garriſon of ſix or ſeven Thouſand Men under a *Chineſe* Commander.

The fourth called *Nimpo*, lyes in the moſt Eaſterly part of *China*: There it was we landed. The Entrance is very difficult, and wholly impracticable to great Veſſels, the *Bar* at the higheſt Tides not being above 15 Foot under Water. That Place is nevertheleſs very well traded, for thence they make a ſpeedy Voyage to *Japan*, being but two days in their paſſage

to *Nangazaki*. Thither they carry Silks, Sugar, Drugs and Wine, which they Exchange for Gold, Silver and Braſs.

Nimpo is a City of the firſt Claſs, and was in former times very remarkable, but has been much damaged by the late Wars; however, it daily regains ſomething of its former Splendour; the Walls are in a good Condition, the City and Suburbs well inhabited, and the Garriſon pretty numerous. The Town is ſtill full of a kind of Monuments called by the *Chineſe Paifam*, or *Pailou*, and by us Triumphal Arches, which are very frequent in *China*.

They conſiſt in three great Arches abreaſt, built with long Marble Stones. That in the middle is much higher than the other two. The four *Columns* which ſupport them are ſometimes round, but oftner ſquare, made of one only Stone placed on an irregular *Baſis*. In ſome this *Baſis* is not to be ſeen whether they never had any, or that thro' Age it was ſunk into the Ground. They have no *Capitals*, but the Trunk is faſtned into the *Architrave*, if we will give that Name to ſome Figures over the Pillars. The *Frize* is better diſtinguiſhed, but too high in proportion to the reſt; they adorn it with Inſcriptions, Figures and Emboſſed Sculptures of a wonderful beauty, with Knots wrought looſe one within another, with Flowers curiouſly carved, and Birds flying as it were from the Stone, which in my Mind are Maſter-pieces.

Not that all theſe Arches are of this make: Some are ſo ordinary that they are not worth the ſeeing; but others there are which cannot enough be priſed. Inſtead of a Corniſh, they have before and behind large flat Marble Stones like Pent-houſes There are ſo many of theſe Monuments at *Nimpo*, that in ſome places they are more a Trouble then an Ornament, tho' at a Diſtance they make an agreeable Proſpect.

I have omitted the Haven of *Nankin*, which, me-

thinks,

thinks, becauſe of the breadth and depth of the River *Kiam* ſhould have been firſt in order; but not any Ships put in there at preſent. I do not know whether the Mouth of the ſaid River is now choaked up with Sand; but ſure I am, that the whole Fleet of that famous Pyrat who beſieged *Nankin* during the late Troubles, paſſed it without any difficulty; and perhaps it is to prevent any ſuch Accident for the future, that the *Chineſe* will not make uſe of it, that by degrees it may grow out of knowledge.

This, *My Lord*, is in general what may be ſaid of the Ports, Fortreſſes and Cities of *China*, the number of which is ſo great, that ſcarce can a Traveller diſtinguiſh them, they lye ſo thick together. Therefore the *Chineſe* have ever thought that no Nation in the World was to be compared to them, much like thoſe People whom the Prophet repreſents, ſaying, * *This is that great and glorious City which has ſubſiſted for ſo many years, and ſaith, I truly am a City, and there is none beſides me.* The *Chineſe* indeed were ſomething excuſable in this Point, ſince they knew of nothing beyond the Seas of *Japan* and Foreſts of *Tartary*; but what we have told 'em, That the *Weſt* had alſo its Cities and Kingdoms, which in ſeveral things exceeds theirs, has very much humbled them, being not a little vexed that their Title to the *Univerſal Monarchy* ſhould now be queſtioned, after having enjoyed it above 4000 years.

* Zeph. 2. 15.

Our Comfort, *My Lord*, is, that theſe proud Cities which ſtiled themſelves *Ladies of the Univerſe*, have been forced to open their Gates to the Goſpel, and art partly ſubdued by our Religion. * *Thoſe that dwelt in high places have bowed their heads, and the Lord has in a holy manner brought low the lofty Cities.* This, *My Lord*, has often ſupported me in the midſt

* Iſaiah 26. 5.

of

of my Labours and Travels. I have ſeen but few Cities where *Chriſtianity* had made no Progreſs; and among thoſe Crowds of Worſhippers of *Belial*, I have obſerved a *choſen People* which worſhipped the Lord *in Spirit and in Truth.* Our Churches are now the Ornament of thoſe very Cities, which during ſo many Ages had been defiled with Idols; and the Croſs raiſed above their Houſes, confounds Superſtition, and gains it ſelf Reſpect from the very Gentiles.

What then remains, *My Lord,* but that we labour with the utmoſt Diligence to the perfecting of a Work worthy the Zeal of the firſt *Apoſtles.* Woe to thoſe who are kept there by the Care of the Head of the Church, and the Liberality of Chriſtian Princes, if thro' Negligence, or an ill-grounded Cowardice, they fail of rendring the Inhabitants of thoſe vaſt Cities a *Holy Nation.* Hitherto, thro' God's good Grace, the Miniſters of the *Goſpel* have not been aſhamed of their Profeſſion, not before the Pagan Magiſtrates; and when forced by a long Exile to quit their beloved Churches, they all might with St. *Paul* ſay, *You know I have endeavoured to ſerve the Lord in all humility, with many tears, and notwithſtanding the Croſſes I have met with from the Heathen; that I have hid nothing from you that might be to your advantage, no hinderance being ſtrong enough to prevent my preaching it both in publick and private; but rather admoniſhing you all to be penitent towards God, and faithful to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

I know that thoſe who have Compoſed whole Volumes to cry down our Catholick Miſſions, will not agree to what I have ſaid. Men, who have once profeſſed themſelves Enemies to the Orthodox Doctrine, attack it every where, and make it their Buſineſs to ſlander ſuch as preach it: But it may be a Comfort to us, that we have no other Adverſaries but thoſe who are ſuch to our Church, and that we are only blamed by thoſe whoſe Praiſe would be a Reproach to us.

How-

However, we ſtand in daily need of the Aſſiſtance of our kind Protectors; For in what part of this World can Naked Truth and Diſtreſſed Innocence withſtand alone the Force of Inveterate Malice? In you, *My Lord*, we hope to find one full of Zeal and Juſtice. The Approbation of ſo great a Prince, whoſe Wit, Judgment and Uprightneſs are well known to all *Europe*, is able alone to Silence and Confound our Enemies. And when it is once known that you are in ſome Concern for our Affairs, that you are ſenſible of our Labours, perſwaded that our Deſigns are good, and willing to contribute to carry them on; none ſure will then be ſo daring and hardened a Calumniator as to ſpeak againſt our Miſſions to *China*, or reflect on our Conduct in that Country. I am with a profound Reſpect,

My Lord,

Hour Eminences moſt humble

and obedient Servant

L. J.

LET-

LETTER IV.

To the Count de CRECY.

Of the Clime, Soil, Canals, Rivers and Fruits of China.

My Lord,

THE *French* Miſſionaries to *China*, are ſo highly obliged to your whole Family, that among the moſt important Commands, they have honoured me with for *Europe*, that of returning you their hearty Thanks was earneſtly recommended to my Care.

I know, *My Lord*, that how great ſoever your Favours may have been, your ſeveral Employments, and the unbounded Application with which you ſerve his Majeſty, have ſomewhat curbed your Zeal.

But what is not owing from us to that other Self of yours, (pardon the Expreſſion) whom his Blood, Name, Wit, and a thouſand excellent Qualifications, do ſo confound with you, that we can ſcarce diſtinguiſh the one from the other? In all our Travels in which ſome of us have already reckon'd above 40000 Leagues, we have not made a Step without his Orders and Aſſiſtance. His Zeal has excited us to Noble Enterpriſes, his Prudence directed us how to carry them on, his Courage ſtrengthned us againſt all Oppoſition, and I hope his unſhaken Conſtancy will

at last give Success to one of the most Noble Atchievements that this Age has produced, to our Churches good, to the Improvement of Learning, and to his Glory who Sways the *Gallick* Scepter.

Thus, *My Lord*, while you make known his Name in the several Courts of *Europe*, he spreads yours abroad thro' the new World, where he is equally reverenced by the Preachers of the Gospel, whose Support he is, and dreaded by those of Paganism and Idolatry, whose Ruin he is the occasion of. I the more willingly do Justice to his Merit, because I cannot write on a Subject more agreeable to your Lordship; and if I had not already spoke to it in a private Conversation, I were to blame, to give over so soon.

But after having indulged a Father's Tenderness, is it not time you should satisfie a State-man's Curiosity? I have often described *Europe* to the *Chineſe*, who have admired its Politeness, Beauty and Magnificence; it is but just that I make *China* known to that *European* who is best able to judge of its true Grandeur. I have, *My Lord*, pitched upon the following Particulars, being such as will give you a true Idea of that Country, and will perhaps give some pleasure in the reading.

China being of a large Extent, the Nature of the Soil is different, according to its particular Situation, as it lyes more or less Southwards. I can however assure your Lordship, that the least of its fifteen Provinces, is so Populous and Fertile, that in *Europe* it would make alone a considerable State; and a Prince who should enjoy it, might have Wealth and Subjects enough to content a moderate Ambition.

This Land, like all others, is divided into Hills and Plains; but the latter are so even that one would think the *Chineſe* have ever since the Foundation of their Monarchy been employ'd in nothing else but levelling them, and making them into Gardens; and

their

their manner of meliorating their Ground being to let Water thro' it, they could not think of a better way to distribute it equally; else those Parts which lye highest would have laboured under a continual Drought, and the rest lain always under Water.

This is also their way even in Filling and Manuring their Hills, for they cut them out like a pair of Stairs from the Foot to the Top, that the Rain-water may spread equally, and not wash down the Ground with its Seeds.

Thus they have, as it were, forced Nature by making Artificial Plains, where she had raised Mountains; and a long Series of such Hills surrounded and crowned, as I may say, with a hundred such Terrasses, losing in Breadth as they gain in Height, and whose Soil is as fruitful as that of the best Cultivated Valleys, must needs make a very entertaining Landskip.

It is true that their Mountains are not for the most part so Stony as ours, their Mould is rather Light, Porous, and easily Cut; and what is most surprising, so deep, that in most Provinces you may dig three or four hundred Feet in depth before you come to the Rock. This does not a little contribute to its goodness, because the continual Transpiration of Salt Spirits is ever renewing it, and thus endues the Soil with a perpetual Fertility.

Nature has not however been equal in her Distribution, she was less lavish to the Provinces of *Chensi*, *Honan*, *Canton* and *Fokien*. Yet even their Mountains are not wholly useless, bearing all kind of Trees, which grow tall and streight, and are fit for all kind of Building, especially for Shipping. The Emperor reserves some for his private use, and sometimes sends 300 Leagues for Trees of a prodigious bigness, of which he makes Pillars to his Temples or other Publick Buildings.

The Inhabitants also trade much in them, for having lopt

lopt off all the Branches, they tye 80 or 100 of them together, and faſten ſo many ſuch Rows one behind another as reach almoſt a Mile, which they drag in that manner along the Rivers and Canals till they have ſold all; for they build them little convenient Houſes on theſe kind of Floats, where the Timber-Merchant, his Family and Servants lye during the whole Voyage, which is ſometimes three or four Months long.

They have other Mountains which are of a greater and more publick Advantage. Thoſe produce Iron, Tin, Braſs, Mercury, Gold and Silver. It is true, the Silver Mines are not now made uſe of, whether they think the Empire is ſufficiently ſtocked with it, or that they are unwilling to Sacrifice the Lives of poor People, by putting them upon ſo laborious and dangerous a Task.

As for their Gold the Torrents waſh a great quantity away into the Plains, which proves the occaſion of a great many Peoples livelyhood, who have no other Occupation then to look for it among the Sand and Mud, where they find it ſo pure, that it need no Refining as at *Peru*.

If you will believe the *Chineſe*, who themſelves are Credulous to an Exceſs, their Mountains have wonderful Properties. Some, they ſay, are ever covered with Clouds, while others always continue Calm and Serene. Some produce none but uſeful, wholeſome Herbs, while not a rank poyſonous Weed can grow there. They affirm that a Hill in the Province of *Chenſi* is ſhaped like a Cock, and Crows ſometimes ſo loud as to be heard three Leagues off; and that another in that of *Fokien*, moves too and fro when a Storm approaches, like a Tree agitated with the Wind. The hoary Heads of others are cover'd with a continual Froſt; and there is one in the Province of *Kiamſi*, called the *Dragon-Tiger*, becauſe the *Bonzes* pretend

tend that its upper part is ſhaped like a Dragon, and ſeems to Aſſault the lower that is like a Tiger.

That of *Fokien* eſpecially is admired, the whole Extent of which is nothing elſe but a Repreſentation of the Idol *Foé*, ſo hugely big, that its Eyes are ſeveral Miles broad, and its Noſe many Leagues in length. I cannot ſuppoſe it to be a piece of *Chineſe* Workmanſhip, for they would not certainly have made its Noſe ſo big, who love theirs ſhould be little, which they look upon as a great Beauty.

The Mountain of *Chenſi* is no leſs wonderful, for at the Sound of a Drum, or any other Inſtrument, it breathes out Fire and Flames, raiſes Wind, Rains, Storms and what not: And, to conclude, one in the Province of *Houkam* has this ſtrange property, that it makes Thieves ſo giddy, that ſhould they ſteal any thing on it, it would be impoſſible for them to go off with their Booty; whereas an eaſie Egreſs and Regreſs is allowed to ſuch as come thither with an Honeſt Mind.

China abounds in ſuch like Curioſities which ſome of our Philoſophers admire, and endeavour to reduce to Natural Principles, but I ſhould rather adviſe them to leave that Diſcuſſion to the *Chineſe*, who being the Authors, ſhould beſt know the Cauſes of theſe fancied Effects.

The idleſt Dream, and that to which they give moſt Faith, is, That there is a Dragon of an extraordinary ſtrength and Sovereign Power. It is in Heaven, in the Air, on the Waters, and uſually among the Mountains. They alſo believe that in thoſe Mountains live a ſort of Men which they call the *Immortal Race*, believing really that they never dye; and ſome are ſo infatuated with this ridiculous Opinion, that they wander among thoſe Rocks, and there looſe themſelves in queſt of Immortality. There are ſeveral famous *Grotto's*, where ſome *Bonzes* lead a very auſteer

auſtere Life ; but for a few that behave themſelves well, abundance thro' their execrable Vices, are grown Contemptible to Perſons of Quality, and Odious to the People, who only tolerate them, thro' a miſtaken Zeal.

The moſt famous Temples are alſo built on Mountains. Pilgrims repair thither from 200 Leagues off, and their Number is ſometimes ſo great, that the Roads are crowded with them. The Women eſpecially are very exact in the performance of this piece of Devotion, for having no other Opportunity of going abroad, they are glad of that Pretext. But theſe Holy Travels being ſomewhat prejudicial to their Vertue, their Husbands are not over-well pleaſed at it; therefore only your ordinary ſort of Women perform theſe Journeys; but as for Perſons of Quality, they force their Wives Zeal into a narrower Compaſs.

If after having viewed their Mountains, we take a Proſpect of their Plains, it muſt be confeſſed that no Art can equal their Natural Beauty. They are all Cultivated, and have neither Hedge nor Ditch, nor ſcarce a Tree, ſo much they are afraid of loſing an inch of Ground. In moſt Provinces they make Harveſt twice a year, and between thoſe two Seaſons they ſow Herbs and Pulſe.

All the Northern and Weſtern Provinces, as *Pekin*, *Chanſi*, *Chenſi*, *Sout-chouen*, bear Wheat, Barley, ſeveral kinds of *Millet*, and Tobacco, with black and yellow Peaſe, with which they feed Horſes as we do with Oats. Thoſe to the *South*, eſpecially *Houquam*, *Nankin*, and *Shekiam* are fruitful in Rice, it being a low, watry Country. The Husbandmen at firſt ſow it diſorderly like other Corn, and when it is grown about two Feet from the Ground, they pull it up by the Roots, and tranſplant it in a ſtrait Line, in ſmall parcels like little Sheaves, checkerwiſe, that the Ears may

ſupport each other, and the eaſier reſiſt the Wind; ſo that theſe Plains look more like ſpacious Gardens than a plain Field.

The Soil is proper for all manner of Fruits; it bears Pears, Apples, Apricocks, Peaches, Figs, Grapes of all kind, and eſpecially excellent Muſcadines. There are alſo Pomegranates, Walnuts, Cheſnuts, and generally all that we have in *Europe*. Their Olives are different from ours; they preſs no Oyl out of them, becauſe, perhaps, they are not fit for that purpoſe, or that the *Chineſe* have not yet thought of it. Their Fruit generally ſpeaking, is not near ſo good as ours, being wholly Strangers to the Art of Grafting. But they have three kind of Melons which all are excellent: The firſt are ſmall, yellow within, and of a ſweet Sugar-taſte, which they eat with the Rind as we do an Apple: I have not met with thoſe any where but in the Province of *Chenſi*. The others are very big and long, their inſide being of ſome white, and of others red; tho' they are full of a cooling Juice which taſtes like Sugar, they never prove offenſive, and may be eaten during the greateſt Heats of Summer, without fear of a Surfeit; thoſe are called Water-Melons. The third ſort are like our ordinary Melons.

Beſides the Fruits which they have in common with us, others grow there which are not known in *Europe*. The moſt delicate they call *Letchi*, and is found in the Province of *Canton*. It is as big as a Nut, the Stone is long and big, and the Meat on it ſoft and wateriſh, but of a moſt dilicious Taſte; I know not any Fruit in *Europe* that comes near it. All this is incloſed in a rough thin Rhind, and the whole is ſhaped like an Egg. It is unwholeſome to eat a quantity, and of ſo hot a nature, as to cauſe a Man's whole Body to break out into Pimples. The *Chineſe* dry it with the Rhind, and then it grows black and rinkled

rinkled like our Prunes, and ſo it is preſerved and eat all the year round, being uſed eſpecially in Tea, to which it gives a little ſharp Taſte, more agreeable than that of Sugar.

In the ſame Province, and in that of *Fokien*, grows another ſmall Fruit which they call *Louyen*, *Dragon's-Eye*. The Tree that bears it is large as thoſe which produce our Walnuts. This Fruit is exactly round, the outer Rhind being ſmooth and grey, but as it ripens it grows yellowiſh. The Meat is white, ſoweriſh, and very full of Juice, and is fitter for a Deſſert to thoſe who have well dined, then to ſatisfie the hungry Stomach: It is very cool and inoffenſive.

The *Séze*, another kind of Fruit peculiar to *China*, grows almoſt in all parts of it; of this, as of Apples, there are ſeveral kinds. Thoſe in the Southern Provinces taſte much like Sugar, and melt in ones Mouth. In the Provinces of *Chanſi* and *Chenſi*, it is more firm, bigger, and may eaſier be preſerved. The Rhind of the former is clear, ſmooth, tranſparent, and of a ſhining red Colour, eſpecially when the Fruit is ripe. Some are in ſhape like an Egg, but uſually bigger, the Pips black and flat, and the Meat very watery and almoſt liquid, which they ſuck out at one of the ends. When they are dried like our Figs they become mealy, but in time there grows a ſort of a ſugar'd Cruſt upon them, from which they receive a moſt delicious flavour.

Thoſe in *Chanſi* are, as I have ſaid, much more firm, their Meat being like that of our Apples, but of a different Colour. Thoſe they either gather early to ripen them on the Straw, or dip in ſcalding Water, to free 'em of an ill ſower Taſte which they have at firſt gathering. The *Chineſe* are not over careful of this Fruit, it being a Natural Product of the Earth which grows in any Soil. But did they endeavour to bring it to perfection by grafting, I queſtion

not but it might be made an excellent one.

I purpoſely omit their *Anana's*, *Goyaves*, *Coco's* and other Fruits, for which they are indebted to the *Indies*, and which have been abundantly deſcribed in other Relations; but I cannot paſs by their Oranges, commonly known with us by the Name of *China Oranges*, becauſe the firſt we ſaw of that kind came from thence. The firſt and only Tree out of whoſe Stock all ours are ſaid to be produced, is ſtill preſerved at *Lisbon* in the Garden of the Count *de St. Laurence*, and we are, indeed, beholding to the *Portugueſe* for that Delicious Fruit; but they brought only of one kind over, tho' there be ſeveral in *China*.

That which is moſt valued, and ſent as a Rarity to the *Indies*, is no bigger than the Balls with which they uſually play at Billiard; the Rhind is of a reddiſh yellow, fine, clear, and very ſmooth. Yet the bigger ſort ſeem to me the beſt: Thoſe of *Canton* eſpecially are very agreeable both to our Palate and Conſtitution. They are commonly given to ſick People, being firſt ſoftned with the fire, then filled with Sugar, which incorporating with their Juice, makes a very ſweet wholſome Syrup, then which nothing can be better for the Lungs. I know not how to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe we have in *Provence*, and that are brought from *Portugal*; unleſs by their being more firm, that they are not eaſily parted from the Rhind, neither are they divided into Segments like ours, tho' elſe they do not differ in ſhape.

When I was at *Siam*, moſt of my Country-men were tranſported with the goodneſs of certain Oranges whoſe Rhind is rough, thick, almoſt all over green. They may perhaps be willing to know if *China* can ſhew any as good. As to matter of Taſte, a Man does not always agree with himſelf, much leſs can he do ſo with others. All I can ſay to it is, that each is excellent in its kind, and that uſually the laſt eaten ſeem beſt taſted. Lemons,

Lemons, Citrons, and what the *Indians* call *Pampelimonſes*, are very common there, and therefore not ſo much regarded as in *Europe*; but they Cultivate with a great deal of Care a particular Species of Lemon-Trees, whoſe Fruit being no bigger then a Walnut, perfectly round, green and ſoweriſh withal, are excellent in all kind of Ragouſts; and theſe Shrubs they often plant in Boxes to adorn their Courts and Halls therewith.

But of all the Trees that grow in *China*, that which produces Tallow is in my Opinion the moſt prodigious. This very Propoſition is no doubt ſurpriſing, and there being no where elſe any thing like it, will ſeem a *Paradox*; yet there is nothing more true, and perhaps, *My Lord*, a particular Account of the Nature and Properties of ſo extraordinary a Tree, will not be unwelcome.

It is about the height of our Cherry-Trees; the Branches are crooked, the Leaves ſhaped like a Heart, of a lively brisk red, its Bark ſmooth, the Trunk ſhort, and the Head round and very thick. The Fruit is incloſed within a Rhind divided into three Segments, which open when it is ripe, and diſcover three white Kernels of the bigneſs of a ſmall Nut. All the Branches are very thick of it; and this mixture of white and red makes at a diſtance the fineſt Proſpect in the World; the Fields, where theſe Trees are planted, which they uſually are in a direct Line and Checker-wiſe, ſhewing afar off like a vaſt *Parterre* of Flower-Pots.

But the wonder is, that this Kernel has all the qualities of Tallow; its Odour, Colour, and Conſiſtency; and they alſo make Candles of it, mixing only a little Oyl when they melt it to make the Stuff more pliant. If they knew how to purifie it as we do our Tallow here, I doubt not but their Candles might be as good as ours, but they make them very awkwardly;

ſo that their Smell is much ſtronger, their Smoak thicker, and their Light dimmer than ours.

It is true, the Fault does not a little lye in the Wiek; for inſtead of Cotton, tho' they are well ſtocked with that Commodity, they uſe a ſmall ſtick of a dry light Wood, wrapt round with the inner part of a Ruſh, which is very porous, and thereby fitted for the Filtration of the ſmall Particles of that greaſie Matter by which the Flame is preſerved. This wooden Wiek, beſides that it does not burn ſo clear as Cotton, increaſes the Smoak, and cauſes an offenſive Smell.

Among the Trees peculiar to the Country I am ſpeaking of, I muſt not omit thoſe which bear Pepper, not like that which we make uſe of in *Europe*, but another ſort of Seeds indued with the ſame qualities. They grow on a Tree like thoſe who bear our Walnuts, about as big as a Pea, and of a greyiſh Colour, with little red ſtreaks. When they are ripe they open of themſelves, and diſcover a little Stone as black as Jet, caſting ſo ſtrong a ſmell very offenſive to the Head, for which reaſon they gather them by intervals, not being able to remain on the Tree any conſiderable time. Having expoſed theſe Grains to the Sun, they caſt away the Stone which is too hot and ſtrong, and only uſe the reſt, which tho' not quite ſo agreeable as our Pepper, is however of good uſe in Sauces.

I ſhall add, *My Lord*, that you may better judge of the Fertility of that vaſt Empire, that there is no place in the World like it for the abundance of Roots and Pulſe; it is almoſt the only Food of the Inhabitants, who omit nothing to have them good. It would be too tedious to give you a Liſt of all thoſe different Herbs; for beſides thoſe we have here, their Ground brings forth ſeveral others unknown to us, on which they ſet a greater value. Their Care and

Dexterity

Dexterity herein is beyond all our Gardners performances; and if our *Parterre* excels theirs, they exceed us in their Kitchin Garden.

Tho' this Subject, common in it self and not worth your notice, yields no great Rarity, I cannot forbear speaking of a kind of Onions which I have seen; they do not seed like ours; but towards the latter end of the Season their Leaves bear some small Filaments, in the midst of which is a white Onion like that in the Ground. This does in time produce its Leaves, and those a like Head, and so on, which grow less and shorter as they are farther from the Ground; the Dimensions are so just, and the Proportions so exact, that one would think them Artificially done; and it seems as if nature were minded to shew us that even Sporting, it can exceed the Skill of the nicest Artist.

If what has been written of what they call *Petsi* were true, it would be a great wonder. It is a kind of *Lenusar*, that grows under Water, whose Root is fastned to a white Matter covered with a red Skin, that divides it self into several Heads, which when fresh, taste like a small Nut. I have been assured that it has this Property, that it softens Brass, and as it were renders it eatable, if a piece of the Metal be put into the Mouth with one of this Plant.

This seemed the stranger to me, because the Juice which issues from it is very mild and cooling, and not endued with any of those Corrosive qualities which seem necessary to work such an Effect. As soon as we were arrived at *Hamt-chéou*, where this *Petsi* is much eaten, we had the Curiosity to enquire into the truth of it; and to that purpose took a piece of their Money, which was made of a very brittle sort of Molten Brass, and wrapt it up in a slice of this Root. One of us who had stronger Teeth than the rest, broke it into several pieces, which the others,

loath to ſtrain their Jaws, had not been able to do: But theſe broken pieces were as hard as ever, which made us think that the Root had indeed no other Virtue then that by being wrapt up round the Braſs it ſaved his Teeth; which a piece of Leather might have done as well. We often repeated the Experiment at *Kiahin*, but with no better ſucceſs; ſo true it is that theſe mighty Wonders ſhould be heard twice, before they are once believed.

Tho' *China* were not of it ſelf ſo fruitful a Country as I have repreſented it, the Canals which are cut thro' it, were alone ſufficient to make it ſo. But beſides their great uſefulneſs in that, and the way of Trade, they add alſo much Beauty to it. They are generally of a clear, deep and running Water, that glides ſo ſoftly, that it can ſcarce be perceived. There is one uſually in every Province, which is to it inſtead of a Road, and runs between two Banks, built up with flat courſe Marble Stones, bound together by others which are let into them, in the ſame manner as we uſe to faſten our ſtrong wooden Boxes at the Corners.

So little Care was taken, during the Wars, to preſerve Works of Publick Uſe, that this, tho' one of the Nobleſt in the Empire, was ſpoiled in ſeveral places, which is a great pity; for they are of no little uſe, both to keep in the Waters of theſe Canals, and for thoſe to walk on who drag the Boats along. Beſides theſe Cawſeys they have the conveniency of a great many Bridges for the Communication of the oppoſite Shoars; ſome are of three, ſome five, and ſome ſeven Arches, the middlemoſt being always extraordinary high, that the Boats may go through without putting down their Maſts. Theſe Arches are built with large pieces of Stone or Marble, and very well framed, the Supporters well fitted, and the Piles ſo ſmall that one would think them at a diſtance to hang

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in the Air. These are frequently met with, not being far asunder, and the Canal being strait, as they usually are, it makes a Prospective at once stately and agreeable.

This great Canal runs out into smaller ones on either side, which are again subdivided into small Rivulets, that end at some great Town or Village. Sometimes they discharge themselves into some Lake or great Pond, out of which all the adjacent Country is watered. So that these clear and plentiful Streams, embellished by so many fine Bridges, bounded by such neat and convenient Banks, equally distributed into such vast Plains, covered with a numberless multitude of Boats and Barges, and crowned (if I may use the Expression) with a prodigious number of Towns and Cities, whose Ditches it fills, and whose Streets it forms, does at once make that Country the most Fruitful and the most Beautiful in the World.

Surprised and as it were astonished at so Noble a Sight, I have sometimes bore a secret Envy to *China* in *Europe's* behalf, which must own that it can boast nothing in that kind to be compared to the former. What would it be then, if that Art which in the wildest and most unlikely Places has raised magnificent Palaces, Gardens and Groves, had been employed in that rich Land, to which Nature has been lavish of her most precious Gifts.

The *Chinese* say their Country was formerly totally overflowed, and that by main Labour they drained the Water by cutting it a way thro' these useful Canals. If this be true, I cannot enough admire at once the Boldness and Industry of their Workmen who have thus made great Artificial Rivers, and of a kind of a Sea, as it were created the most Fertile Plains in the World.

It will scarce be believed, that Men so ignorant in the Principles of Physicks, and the Art of Levelling, could

could bring such a Work as that to Perfection; yet it is certain that these Canals are not natural. For they are usually strait, the Distribution is equal and orderly; there are Flood-gates made for the Rivers to let in their Water at, and others to let it out when they are too full; so that it cannot be doubted but that the *Chinese* are only beholding to their own Industry for that great Conveniency.

Among all those Canals in the Southern Provinces, one above the rest is called the *Great Canal*, because it goes thro' the whole Country from *Canton*, which lyes Southwards to *Pekin*, situated in the most Northerly parts of the Empire. You must only travel a short days Journey by Land to cross the Hill *Moilin*, that does on one side bound the Province of *Kiamsi*. From this Mountain issue two Rivers; one runs Southwards to the Sea, and the other Northwards as far as the River of *Nankin*, whence by the *yellow River*, and several Canals, you may proceed by Water to the very Mountains of *Tartary*.

But, by reason in this huge Extent of Ground, of above four hundred Leagues in length, the Earth is not Level, or, hath not a Descent proportionable to the Emanation of the Waters, it was necessary to set a great number of Sluices awork. They call them so in the Relations, notwithstanding they be much different from ours. They are Water-falls, and as it were certain Torrents, that are precipitated from one Canal into another, more or less rapid, according to the difference of their Level: Now, to cause the Barks to ascend, they make use of a great Company of Men, who are maintained for that purpose near the Sluice. After they have drawn Cables to the right and left to lay hold of the Bark, in such a manner that it cannot escape from them; they have several Capstans, by the help of which they raise it by little and little, by the main force of their Arms, till such time as it be in

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the upper Canal, in a Condition to continue its Voyage whither it is bound. This ſame Labour is tedious, toilſome, and exceeding dangerous. They would be wonderfully ſurpriſed, ſhould they behold with what eaſineſs one Man alone, who opens and ſhuts the Gates of our Sluices, makes the longeſt and heavieſt laden Barks ſecurely to aſcend and deſcend.

I have obſerved in ſome Places in *China*, where the Waters of two Canals or Channels have no Communication together; yet for all that, they make the Boats to paſs from the one to the other, notwithſtanding the Level may be different above fifteen Foot: And this is the way they go to work. At the end of the Canal they have built a double *Glacis*, or ſloping Bank of Free-ſtone, which uniting at the Point, extends it ſelf on both ſides up to the Surface of the Water. When the Bark is in the lower Channel they hoiſt it up by the help of ſeveral Capſtanes to the plane of the firſt *Glacis*, ſo far, till being raiſed to the Point, it falls back again by its own weight along the ſecond *Glacis*, into the Water of the upper Channel, where it skuds away during a pretty while, like an Arrow out of a Bow; and they make it deſcend after the ſame manner proportionably. I cannot imagine how theſe Barks, being commonly very long and heavy Laden, eſcape being ſplit in the middle, when they are poiſed in the Air upon this Acute Angle; for, conſidering that length, the Lever muſt needs make a ſtrange effect upon it; yet do I not hear of any ill Accident happen thereupon. I have paſt a pretty many times that way, and all the Caution they take, when they have a mind to go aſhoar, is, to tye ones ſelf faſt to ſome Cable for fear of being toſt from Prow to Poop.

We meet with no ſuch Sluices in the Grand Canal, becauſe the Emperor's Barks, that are as large as our Frigots, could not be raiſed by force of Arm, nay,

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and would infallibly be split in the Fall, all the difficulty consists in ascending back again upon these Torrents, of which I have spoken; yet this is what they perform successively, tho' not without some Trouble and Expence.

The Canal to sail upon, was necessary for the Transportation of Grain and Stuffs, which they fetch from the Southern Provinces to *Pekin*. There are, if we may give Credit to the *Chineses*, a Thousand Barks, from Eighty to an Hundred Tun, that make a Voyage once a year, all of them Freighted for the Emperor, without counting *those* of particular Persons, whose number is infinite. When these prodigious Fleets set out, one would think they carry the Tribute of all the Kingdoms of the *East*, and that one of these Voyages alone was capable of supplying all *Tartary* where-withal to Subsist for several years; yet for all that *Pekin* alone hath the benefit of it; and it would be as good as nothing, did not the Province contribute besides to the Maintenance of the Inhabitants of that vast City.

The *Chineses* are not only content to make Channels for the Convenience of Travellers, but they do also dig many others to catch the Rain-water, wherewith they water the Fields in time of Drought, more especially in the Northern Provinces. During the whole Summer, you may see your Country People busied in raising this Water into abundance of small Ditches, which they contrive across the Fields. In other places they contrive great Reservatories of Turf, whose Bottom is raised above the Level of the Ground about it, to serve them in Case of Necessity. Besides that, they have every where in *Chensi* and *Chansi*, for want of Rain, certain Pits from Twenty to an Hundred foot deep, from which they draw Water by an incredible Toil. Now if by chance they meet with a Spring of Water, it is worth

worth obſerving how cunningly they husband it; they Suſtain it by Banks in the higheſt places; they turn it here and there an Hundred different ways, that all the Country may reap the benefit of it; they divide it, by drawing it by degrees, according as every one hath occaſion for it, inſomuch that a ſmall Rivulet, well managed, does ſometimes produce the Fertility of a whole Province.

The Rivers of *China* are no leſs conſiderable then its Canals, there are two eſpecially, which the Relations have made famous. The firſt is called *Kiam* or *Yamçe*, which they commonly Tranſlate the *Son of the Sea*: But I am afraid they are miſtaken; for the Letter the *Chineſes* uſe for to write *Yam* is different from *that* which ſignifies the Sea, altho' the Sound and Pronunciation may have ſome Affinity: Amongſt ſeveral ſignifications that this Letter may have, *that* which they gave it in former times makes for our purpoſe. Under the Reign of the Emperor *Yn* it ſignified a Province of *China*, limitted by this River on the *North*; and it is ſomewhat probable that they gave this ſame Name to the River, becauſe that Prince drain'd all the Water that overflow'd the whole Country into it.

This Floud takes its riſe in the Province of *Yunnan*, croſſes the Provinces of *Soutchouen*, *Houquam*, and *Nankin*; and after it hath watered four Kingdoms far and wide for 400 Leagues together, it diſimbogues into the Eaſt-Sea over againſt the Iſle of *Tçoummim*, caſt up at its Mouth by the Sands which it carries along with it; the *Chineſes* have a Proverb amongſt them that ſays, *The Sea hath no bounds, and the* Kiam *hath no bottom**. And, in truth, in ſome places there is none to be found; in others they pretend there is Two or Three hundred Fathom water. I am nevertheleſs perſwaded that their Pilots, that

* Haï vou pim: Kiam vou ti.

that carry not above Fifty or Sixty Fathom Cord at longeſt, never had the Curioſity to Sound ſo deep as Three hundred Fathom; and the impoſſibility of finding the bottom with their ordinary Plummet, is ſufficient, in my opinion, to incline them to ſuch like Hyperboly's.

I have many times ſailed upon this River; I have moreover taken a diligent account of its Courſe and Breadth from *Nankin*, to the Mouth of another River, into which Men enter to purſue the way to *Canton*. It is off of *Nankin* Thirty Leagues from the Sea, a little half League broad; the Paſſage along it is become dangerous; and becomes more and more infamous every day for its Shipwracks. In its Courſe, which is exceeding rapid, it forms a great number of Iſles, all of them very beneficial to the Province, by reaſon of that multitude of Bull-ruſhes Ten or Twelve foot high that it produceth, ſerving for Fuel to all the Cities thereabouts; for they have ſcarce Wood enough for Buildings and Ships. They yield a great Revenew, and the Emperor draws conſiderable Duties from them.

The River which the Torrents of the Mountains do ſometimes ſwell extraordinarily, grow ſo rapid, that many times they bear away the Iſles with them, or leſſen them by the half; and for the ſame reaſon form other new ones in ſome other place; and one cannot but admire to ſee them change place in ſuch a ſhort time, juſt as if by diving, they had paſt under Water from one place to another; that does not always come to paſs: But there is obſerved ſuch conſiderable Change every year, that the *Mandarins* leaſt they ſhould be miſtaken, get them to be meaſured every Three years, to augment, or diminiſh the Impoſts and Duties, according to the Condition they are found to be in.

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The second River of *China* is called *Hoambo*, as much as to say, *The yellow River*, because the Earth it sweeps away with it, especially in times of great Rains, give it that Colour. I have seen a great many others, whose Waters at certain Seasons of the year, are so over-charged with slime, and so gross and thick, that they rather resemble Torrents of Mud, than real Rivers. The *Hoambo* takes its source at the Extremity of the Mountains that bound the Province of *Soutchouen* in the *West*: From thence it throws it self into *Tartary*, where it flows for some time all along the great Wall, at which it re-enters *China* between the Province of *Chansi* and *Chensi*. After that it waters the Province of *Honan*; and when it hath run cross one part of the Province of *Nankin*, and flowed above Six hundred Leagues into the Land, it disimbogues at length into the East-Sea, not far from the Mouth of *Kiam*. I have croft it, and coasted it in divers places; it is every where very broad and rapid, yet neither deep nor navigable, to speak of.

This River hath in former times caused great Desolation in *China*, and they are still forced to this very day to keep up the Waters in certain places by long and strong Banks, which notwithstanding does not exempt the Cities thereabouts from Apprehensions of Inundation. So likewise have they been careful, in the Province of *Honan*, the Ground lying very low thereabouts, to surround the greatest part of the Cities, about a Mile from the Walls, with a Terrace, cased with Turf, to prevent being surprised by Accidents and Casualties in case the Bank be broken, as happened about Fifty two years ago. For the Emperor, endeavouring to force a Rebel (who, for a long time laid close Siege to the City of *Honan*) to draw off, caused one part of the Banks to be broken down, thereby to drown the adverse Army. But the Relief he afforded the City proved more fatal than the Fury of

of the Beſiegers would have been; the whole Province almoſt was laid under Water, together with many Cities, and abundance of Villages, above Three hundred thouſand Perſons drowned in the Metropolis, amongſt whom were ſome of our Miſſionaries, who at that time had a numerous Flock of Chriſtians; there they, and their Church loſt their Lives.

The Low Country ever ſince is become a kind of a Marſh or Lake; not but that they have ſome deſign to repair this loſs, but the Undertaking is difficult and very expenſive. The Sovereign Court that takes care of Publick Works, importuned the Emperor more than once to ſend Father *Verbieſt* thither, and peradventure, that Prince would have conſented thereto at laſt, but he diſcovered that the *Mandarins* made uſe of this pretence, to remove the Father at a diſtance from Court, and that their Deſign was to engage him in a difficult Enterpriſe, that was enough to deſtroy him; or out of which he could never have diſintangled himſelf with any honour.

There is to be ſeen in *China* abundance of other Rivers leſs Famous, but yet more Commodious for Commerce and Trade.

Since they afford nothing uncommon, it would be to abuſe your Patience, *Sir*, to deſcend to the Particulars. As to what concerns Fountains, it were to be wiſht there were more of them, and better. 'Tis certain that their uſual Waters are not good, which, perhaps, hath obliged the Inhabitants, eſpecially in the Southern Provinces, to drink it always warm; but becauſe warm Water is unpalatable and nauſeous, they bethought themſelves of putting ſome Leaves of a Tree to it, to give it a Guſto, *Thoſe* of *Tea* ſeemed to be the beſt, and ſo they frequently make uſe of it.

It may be alſo that God Almighty, whoſe Providence hath ſo univerſally provided for the Wants of his People, and if I may be bold to ſay it, for their Delight and

and Pleaſure, would not deprive *China* of that which is neceſſary to Life; ſo that for to Supply the Defect of Wells and Fountains, which the Nature of the Ground hath made every where ſalt and brackiſh, he hath been pleaſed to produce that Species of a particular Tree in abundance, whoſe Leaves ſerve not only to purge the Waters from their noxious Qualities, but alſo to make them wholſome and pleaſant.

We are aſſured that there is to be found in *China* amongſt Fountains, ſeveral that ſuffer Flux and Reflux as regularly, as the Sea doth, whether it be that they have ſome Communication with the Ocean by certain Subterraneous Conveyances, and Conduits, or whether it be in paſſing through certain Earths, they are impregnated with Salts and Spirits apt to cauſe this Fermentation. I leave others to determine.

Since I have begun to ſpeak of the different Waters of *China*, I cannot paſs over in Silence the Lakes and Ponds that are every where almoſt to be ſeen in all the Provinces. Thoſe that are produced in Winter by the Torrents from the Mountains, lay waſte the Fields, and render the whole Country during Summer, barren, ſandy, and full of Flints. Thoſe that ariſe from Springs are abounding in Fiſh, and yield a conſiderable Revenew to the Emperor by the Salt they afford. There is one of them amongſt the reſt, if I be not miſtaken it is in *Chanſi*, in the middle whereof appears a ſmall Iſland, where People divert themſelves, during the exceſſive Heat, to ſprinkle Water all over. There is made in a little while, a Cruſt of a certain Salt very white, and of a pleaſant Scent, which they continue all the Summer long, with that Succeſs, that the Salt would be ſufficient for the whole Province, if it were as Salt as that of the Sea; they commonly make uſe of it to Seaſon Meat withal.

Altho' I have not ſeen all thoſe famous Lakes in *China*, whereunto Hiſtorians aſcribe ſo many Miracles, yet ſhall I relate ſomething, which I do not care to warrant for Goſpel; which nevertheleſs, will let you underſtand the *Genius* of the Country, where People ſo eaſily give Credit to what ſeems moſt incredible.

In the Province of *Fokien* there is *one* whoſe Water is green, and changes Iron into Copper. They have built a Palace upon the Banks of another not far diſtant from the former, in an Apartment of which one hears the ringing of Bells every time Heaven threatens a Storm. There are Waters in the Province of *Canton* that change Colour every year, in Summer and in Winer, they are very clear; in Autumn they turn blue, but of ſuch a fine blue, that People make uſe of it to dye Stuffs.

In that place is to be ſeen a Mountain full of Caverns, whoſe very Aſpect is very terrible, in which is found a Lake of that Nature, that if one throw a Stone into it, one may hear a noiſe like Thunder; ſometime after there ariſeth a groſs Miſt, which immediately diſſolves into Water.

But the moſt famous of them all, is, that of the Province of *Jannan*. The *Chineſes* would make you believe that this Lake came all on the ſudden, during an Earthquake that ſwallowed up all the Country with its Inhabitants: This was a juſt Judgment upon them for their wickedneſs, for they were very diſſolute Livers. Of all that were there at that time, there was but one Child that was ſaved, which they found in the middle of the Lake born up upon a piece of Wood.

In the Iſle of *Hainan*, belonging to *China*, there is a ſort of Water, whether it be Lake or Fountain, I know not, that petrifies Fiſh. I my ſelf have brought over Crawfiſh, that preſerving their intire Natural Figure,

Figure, are so far changed into Stone, that the Claws and Body of them are very hard, very solid, and little differing from Stone. The Wonders of Nature are not so far particular to *China*, but the like may be met with elsewhere; and if one does not credit all the *Chineses* relate, it is not because there is sometimes no foundation for their Stories: But because they have somewhat of the Air of Fable, and Hyperbolical in them, that would make a Man even suspect their being true.

I wish with all my heart, *Sir*, (that I may not omit any thing that any way relates to this Subject) I were able to explain all the kinds of Fish that the Rivers and Lakes furnish them with, as well as *those* that are Caught upon their Coasts; but to tell you the truth, I am not well enough informed to engage my self upon a particular Relation of them; I have seen, as far as I can guess, all the Fish in *China*, that we have in *France*: I have taken notice of a great many others that I did not know, no not so much as their Names; that is all I can say of it: Besides that I shall confirm to you, what possibly you may have read in the Relations touching the Fish they call the *Golden and Silver Fish* that are found in divers Provinces, and do afford particular Ornaments in the Courts and Gardens of great Persons.

They are commonly of a fingers length, and of a proportionable thickness; the Male is of a most delicate red, from the head to the middle of the Body, and further; the rest, together with the Tail, is gilded; but with such a glittering, and burnisht Gold, that our real Gildings cannot come near it. The Female is white, its Tail, nay and one part of its Body, perfectly washt over with Silver; the Tail of both of them is not even and flat as *that* of other Fish, but fashioned like a Nosegay, thick and long, and gives a particular Grace to this pretty Animal, that sets it

off, being beſides perfectly well proportioned.

Thoſe who would breed them, ought to have great Care, for they are extraordinary tender, and ſenſible of the leaſt Injuries of the Air. They put them into a great Baſin, ſuch as are in Gardens, very deep and large; at the bottom of which they are wont to place an Earthen Pot turned upſide down, full of Holes on the ſides, that they may retire into it when it is very hot Weather, and by that means ſhelter themſelves from the Sun. They likewiſe throw upon the Surface of the Water ſome particular Herbs that keep always green, and maintain the coolneſs. This Water is to be changed two or three times a Week, yet ſo that freſh Water may be put in, according as the Baſin is emptied, which muſt never be left dry. If one be obliged to remove the Fiſh from one *Vaſe* to another, great care muſt be taken not to touch them with the Hand; all thoſe that are touched dye quickly after, or ſhrivel up; you muſt for that purpoſe make uſe of a little Thred Purſe, faſten'd at the upper end of a wooden Circle, into which they are inſenſibly ingaged; when they are once got into it of themſelves, one muſt take heed of hurting them, and be ſure to hold them ſtill in the firſt, which empties but ſlowly, and gives time to Tranſport them to the other Water. Any great noiſe, as of a Cannon, or of Thunder, too ſtrong a ſmell, too violent a motion, are all very hurtful to them, yea, and ſometimes occaſions their dying; as I have obſerved at Sea every time they diſcharged the Cannon, or melted Pitch and Tar: Beſides, they live almoſt upon nothing; thoſe inſenſible Worms that are bread in the Water, or that moſt Terreſtrial Parts that are mixt with it, ſuffice in a manner to keep them alive. They do, notwithſtanding, throw in little Balls of Paſt now and then; but there is nothing better than a Wafer, which ſteep't, makes a kind of Pap, of which they are extream

tream greedy, which indeed is very proportionable to their natural Delicacy and Tenderneſs. In hot Countries they multiply very much, provided care be taken to remove their Eggs, which ſwim upon the Water, which the Fiſh moſt commonly eat: They place them in a particular *Vaſe* expoſed to the Sun, and there they preſerve them till the heat hatcheth them; the Fiſh come out of a black colour, which ſome of them keep ever after, but is changed by little and little in other Colours, into Red, White, Gold, and Silver, according to their different Kind: The Gold and Silver begins at the extremity of the Tail, and expand themſelves ſomewhat more or leſs, according to their particular Diſpoſition.

All this, *Sir*, and other Marvels of the Univerſe, makes us acknowledge the Finger of God every where, who for our ſakes hath embelliſhed the World many thouſand ways. He is not only content to enlighten the Heavens, and enrich the Earth, but deſcends into the Abyſſes, into the very Waters; he hath left ſome Footſteps of his profound Wiſdom, and not to mention thoſe prodigious Monſters, that ſeem to be made to aſtoniſh Nature, he hath likewiſe created thoſe wonderful Fiſh I but now deſcribed, which, as little as they are, yet by their ſingular Beauty are the Subject of our Admiration, and furniſh us with ſome faint *Idea's* of the Greatneſs of the wiſe Creator.

Here I preſent you, *Sir*, in a Compendium, the Draught, and as it were the Map of that Country, which I deſign'd to give you ſome knowledge of; theſe are but the outſide, and if I may ſo ſay, but the Body of that Empire, whoſe Soul and Spirit is diſperſt through its Inhabitants. Peradventure, when you ſhall have read what I have writ to you about it, you will be apt to enquire what People they be who are ſo happy as to receive the greateſt, faireſt, and

most fertile Portion of the Earth for their Inheritance; such a Land, in a word, that it wants nothing to make it a real Land of Promise, but to be Cultivated by God's People, and inhabited by true *Israelites* indeed. If we had nothing, as the *Hebrews* had, but the Red-Sea and Wilderness to go through, probably Forty years might suffice to bring it under Subjection to the Gospel: But that vast Extent of Seas, those infinite and unpracticable Land Journeys, that were capable of putting a stop to *Moses* and the Prophets, do allay the Zeal of the Ministers of Jesus Christ, and lessen the number of his New Apostles.

Oh! that I could, as the *Hebrews* did, whom *Moses* sent to discover the Promised Land, represent the immense Richness, and most precious Harvest that *China* promises to the Labourers in the Vineyards, we have hopes that probably the prospect of such an abundant Crop, might in time prevail with all *Europe* to come and reap it: At least, I hope that my Testimony will not be insignificant, and that the more than ordinary Zeal of the small Company of Missionaries that shall succeed me, will make amends for the vast Number of *those* which such a vast Empire might demand. I am, with all the respect imaginable,

SIR,

You most humble

and most affectione Servant

I. J.

LET-

LETTER V.

To the Marquis de TORSI, *Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

Of the peculiar Character of the Chineſe *Nation, its Antiquity, Nobility, Manners, and its good and bad Qualities.*

My Lord,

SEeing in the Employment wherewith the King hath honoured you, and which you do already diſcharge with ſo much Wiſdom, nothing can contribute more to promote you to that high pitch of Perfection, that all *Europe* expects from you, than the exact Knowledge of the Manners and *Genius* of Foreigners, I made account that by ordering me to write to you concerning the Empire of *China*, you did particularly deſire to learn what was the *Genius* of its Inhabitants.

It is true, that to judge of the future by preceding Reigns, ſuch Informations would perhaps ſtand you in no ſtead. Hitherto *France* hath had nothing to do with that People, and Nature ſeems not to have placed them at ſuch a diſtance from us, but only intirely

to ſeparate them from our Intereſts. But under the Reign of *Lewis the Great*, for whom Nature her ſelf hath ſo often changed her Laws, is there any thing impoſſible? Nay, will not Heaven, which ſeems to have employed all Nations to make him Renowned, oblige *China*, as proud and haughty as it is, to contribute ſomething to his Glory?

It is, according to all Human Probability, under your Miniſtry, *My Lord*, that we ſhall behold the moſt flouriſhing and mighty Empire of the *Weſt*, unite it ſelf with the moſt puiſſant Realm in all *Europe*. And perhaps, if it had not been for this fatal War, the dire Conſequences of which have made themſelves be felt as far as the Extremities of the Univerſe, you would e're this have given Audience to the *Envoys* of a Prince, who never acknowledged any other Sovereign beſides himſelf in the World. This Negotiation, ſo glorious for you, and ſo much conducing to the Eſtabliſhment of Religion, which the Iniquity of the Times hath hitherto interrupted, may be hereafter ſet afoot again; and it is on purpoſe to diſpoſe and incline you to the ſame, that I preſume to take the liberty, *My Lord*, to let you underſtand the Character of thoſe who are to be employed therein.

The *Chineſes* are ſo Ancient in the World, that it fares with them as to their Original, as with great Rivers whoſe Source can ſcarce be diſcovered. It is neceſſary for that purpoſe, to look back farther then all our Prophane Hiſtories; and that very Time obſerved by the Vulgar, is not ſo long to verifie their Chronology.

It is very true, the Vulgar Hiſtory of that Grand Monarchy, is not only dubious, but manifeſtly falſe beſides, for it computes Forty thouſand years ſince the Foundation of the Empire, but *that* wherein all Knowing and Learned Men agree, is ſo much in vogue

vogue, ſo well circumſtantiated, eſtabliſhed by ſo conſtant a Tradition, that one cannot call it in queſtion among them, without paſſing for Ridiculous, and as they themſelves expreſs it, for Heretical.

According to this Hiſtory, which none of their Learned Men ever queſtioned, *China* hath had its Kings for above Four thouſand years, that have continued to this preſent Time without any Interruption. The ſame Family hath not been always ſeated upon the Throne, there hath been Twenty two of them ſeverally, that hath produced Two hundred thirty ſix Emperors. Several Doctors carry this Monarchy back Six hundred years higher yet, but, altho' their Opinion be very probable, yet may we nevertheleſs ſtick to the firſt. And this is the thing that makes the Grandeur and Nobility of this Empire plainly to appear, ſince Five or Six hundred years, more or leſs, does not produce any notable diminution in its Antiquity.

Certainly, after all the Inquiries and Examinations that have been made into this Chronology, it is no longer left to our Liberty to doubt of it, than of the Hiſtories that are the moſt authentickly received amongſt us: And it ought ſo much the rather to be believed, foraſmuch as it was incapable of admitting any Alteration from Foreigners; foraſmuch as it was always currant amongſt the knowing Men of the Country, for true, ſure, and unconteſtable, for having been written in a natural, plain uneffected Stile, that carries with it that Air of Verity that ever perſwades: And becauſe *Confucius*, eſteemed for his great Capacity, Sincerity and Uprightneſs, never doubted of it; nay, and did even eſtabliſh his whole Doctrine thereupon, Five hundred and fifty years before the Birth of our Saviour, becauſe his Books are very conformable to the Holy Scripture, in reference to the Age of the firſt Men; for they aſſure us that *Tobi*

reigned

reigned an hundred and fifty years; *Chinnum*, an hundred and forty; *Hoamti*, an hundred and eleven; *Yao*, an hundred and eighteen, and so for the rest, always decreasing, conformable to what Holy Writ teaches us. In a word, the Eclipses observed at that time, must needs happen in effect; which they could not know, but by observation, and not by any Calculations that were not extant enough: All this perswades us that there is little certainty in the Prophane History of the World, if we can reasonably doubt of that of *China*.

In a word, this Empire was involved in the Common Fate of all others, whose Origin is still little considerable. It seems probable that the Children, or Grand-children of *Noah*, dispersed themselves into *Asia*, and at length penitrated as far as this part of *China*, that is most Westerly; which is called at this day *Chansi* and *Chensi*. They lived at the beginning in Families, and the Kings were Fathers, to whom a long continuance of years, abundance of Flocks, and other Country Pastoral richness added some authority.

Fohi was the first that laid the Foundation of the Monarchy; his Wisdom, Discretion, his good Morals, Power, and Reputation, which his great Age had acquired him, made them give ear to him, as to an Oracle: He regulated all Private, as well as Politick and Religious Matters; insomuch that the State became in a very flourishing Condition in a short time, his Subjects possessed the Province of *Honan* at first, and some years after all the Lands and Territories that are extended as far as the South Sea.

It is probable that the *Chineses*, from their very original, did look upon themselves as something more than other Men, like to those Princes, who as soon as they are born, discover a certain natural loftiness that ever distinguisheth them from the Vulgar. Whether it was that the neighbouring Kingdoms were barbarous

barbarous, or inferiour to them in point of Wiſdom, I don't know; but at that very time they laid down a Maxim of State amongſt themſelves, *To have no Commerce with Foreigners and Strangers, but juſt ſo much as ſhould be neceſſary to receive their Homages.* Neither did they court and ſeek after theſe Badges of Sovereignty out of a Spirit of Ambition, but whereby to have an occaſion to preſcribe to other People of the World Laws and Conſtitutions of perfect Government.

So that when any one amongſt their Tributaries failed to appear at the time appointed, they did not oblige him by open Force to ſubmit, but on the contrary had Compaſſion on him. *What do we loſe by it*, ſay they, *if he ſtill remain barbarous? ſince he is ſo averſe to Wiſdom, he needs to blame no body but himſelf as often as he ſhall fail in his Duty through Paſſion or Blindneſs.*

This grave Policy acquired the *Chineſes* ſo great a Reputation, that throughout all the *Indies*, all *Tartary* and *Perſia* lookt upon them as the Oracles of the World; yea, and the People of *Japan* had ſuch an high Conceit of them, that when St. *Xavier* brought the Faith amongſt them (altho' *China* at that time came ſhort of her priſtine Probity) one of the great Reaſons they objected againſt the good Man, was, That a Nation ſo Wiſe, ſo intelligent, had not yet embraced it.

But this piece of Policy that induced them to difference themſelves from others, which at firſt might probably be a profitable Maxim, degenerated afterwards into Pride. They lookt upon themſelves as a choſen elect People, that Heaven had produced in the Center of the Univerſe to give them a Law; a People only capable to Inſtruct, Civilize, and Govern Nations. They fanſied other Men but as Dwarfs, and pitiful Monſters, that had been the Out-caſts into the Extremities of the Earth, as the Droſs and Off-

ſcouring

ſcouring of Nature; whereas the *Chineſes* placed in the middle of the World, had alone received from God Almighty, a rational Form and Shape, and a true Size. Their Ancient Maps are filled with ſuch like Figures, and a great many Emblems apt to inſpire that Diſdain they ſhew'd of all Mankind.

But perceiving the *Europeans* inſtructed in all ſorts of Sciences, they were ſtrucken with Aſtoniſhment. *How can it poſſibly be,* ſaid they, *that a People ſo far remote from us, ſhould have any Wit or Capacity? They have never peruſed our Books; they were never modelled by our Laws, and yet they ſpeak, diſcourſe, and argue aright as we do.*

Our Workmanſhip, as Stuffs, Clocks, Watches, Mathematical Inſtruments, and ſuch like Curioſities, ſurpriſed them ſtill more; for they imagined that dextrous and expert Artificers were no where to be met with but in *China.* Then they began to underſtand that we were not ſo barbarous as they imagined; and ſaid in a joking way, *We ſuppoſed all other People blind, and that Nature had beſtowed Eyes upon none but* Chineſes: *that is not univerſally true, if the* Europeans *do not ſee ſo clearly as we, they have at leaſt one Eye apiece.*

I have taken notice of ſome *Frenchmen* ſo moved at this ridiculous Vanity, that they were not Maſters of their Paſſion; they would poſſibly have done better to have laught at it (at leaſt the *Chineſes* deſerve Excuſe) till that time, they had ſeen none but *Indians* and *Tartars,* and they beheld the *Weſt* at a diſtance, as we at preſent behold the *Terra Auſtralis Incognita,* and Foreſts of *Canada:* Now if at 300 Leagues diſtance from *Quebec* we found *Iroquian* Mathematicians, or Learned *Alkonkins,* that could diſcover to us a New Philoſophy, more clear, comprehenſive, and more perfect than ours, we ſhould be no leſs blameworthy than the *Chineſes,* for preferring our ſelves to that People, and for having hitherto termed them Barbarians.

Abating

Abating this Pride, you muſt confeſs that the *Chineſe* Nation hath been endued with rare Qualities; with a great deal of Politeneſs in practiſing the World, with great Senſe and Regularity in their Buſineſs, with much Zeal for the Publick Good, True and Juſt Idea's of Government, with a *Genius*, mean indeed as to Speculative Sciences, but yet right and ſure in Morality, which they have always preſerved very conformable to Reaſon.

The People principally applied themſelves to the Education of Children in their Families; they eſteemed Agriculture above all other things; they were Laborious to exceſs, loving and underſtanding Commerce and Trading perfectly well. Judges and Governors of Cities affected an outſide Gravity, Sobriety at their Tables, Moderation in Houſe-keeping, and Equity in all their Judgments, that gain'd the Love and Reſpect from all the People in general. The Emperor placed his Happineſs in nothing more than to procure it for his Subjects, and lookt upon himſelf not ſo much a King of a Grand State, as a Father of a Numerous Family.

This Character of *China*, *My Lord*, that I have given you, is not flattering, but faithfully deduced from its own Hiſtory, that furniſhes us with an infinite number of Examples of the conſpicuous Wiſdom that hath been ſo long the Soul that informs its Government. 'Tis true indeed, the Civil Wars, the Weak, or Wicked Kings and Foreign Dominion, have from time to time diſturbed this goodly Order: But be it that the Fundamental Laws of the State were excellent, or that the People from their Cradles were indued with happy Diſpoſitions, is not material; but it is moſt certain, theſe Fatal and Troubleſom Intervals did not long continue; if ſo be they were but never ſo little left to their own diſpoſal, they took to their former Conduct again: And we ſee at this very day,

in

in the midſt of Corruption, which the Domeſtick Troubles and Commerce with *Tartars* have introduced, ſome Footſteps of their ancient Probity remaining.

I do not pretend, *My Lord*, to enlarge any further upon this Subject. I know very well that it is a Letter that I have the honour to write to you, and not a Hiſtory; beſides, they are about Tranſlating into *French* that Hiſtory which the *Chineſes* themſelves have left behind them, and I am confident it will pleaſe, by its Novelty and Extraordinary Matters it contains.

I content my ſelf in this place to draw you out the Portraiture of the preſent State of *China*, in relation to the Manners and Cuſtoms of its People; I could decipher it in a few words, by telling you that they live there as we do in *Europe*. Avarice, Ambition, and Love, bear a great ſtroke in all Tranſactions. They Cozen and Cheat in Traffick; Injuſtice reigns in Sovereign Courts; Intrigues buſie both Princes and Courtiers. In the mean time Perſons of Quality take ſo many meaſures to conceal Vice; and the Outworks are ſo well guarded, that if a Stranger be not careful to be inſtructed concerning Affairs to the bottom, he imagines that every thing is perfectly well regulated. That is the thing wherein the *Chineſes* reſemble the *Europeans*. Now I will here ſhew you wherein they differ from them. Their Countenance, Air, Language, Diſpoſition, Civilities, Manners and Behaviour, are not only different from ours, but alſo from *thoſe* we may obſerve in all other Nations of the World.

Without doubt, *My Lord*, you may have taken notice that the Figures that are painted upon the Porcelain Diſhes and Cabinets that come from *China*; our Pictures in *Europe* do always flatter us, but thoſe of *China* make them maimed and ridiculous. They are

not

not ſo ill-favoured as they make themſelves; it is true, they do not agree in the Idea that we frame to our ſelves of real Beauty. They would have a Man big, tall, and groſs; they would have him have a broad Forehead, Eyes little and flat, a ſhort Noſe, great Ears, a Mouth of a midling ſize, a long Beard, a black Hair. That curious Feature, that lively Aſpect, that ſtately and noble Gate and Deportment the *French* ſo much eſteem, does not at all pleaſe them. That is an handſome Man that fills an Elbow-Chair, that by his Gravity and healthful Conſtitution can make a good huffing Figure. As for their Colour, they are naturally as fair as we, eſpecially towards the *North*; but being the Men take no care of themſelves, travel much, wear upon their Head nothing but a little Bonnet not proper to defend their Face from the Sunbeams, they are commonly as Tawny as the *Portugueſe* in the *Indies*: The People alſo of the Provinces of *Canton* and *Jannon*, by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat, working half naked, are of a Dun Complexion.

As much as the Men neglect themſelves in this particular, ſo much do the Women take all the care imaginable to preſerve themſelves. I am not ſure if painting be uſual with them; but ſome body told me that they rub their Faces every Morning with a ſort of white Meal, more fit to terniſh than to inhance their Beauty. They have all of them little Eyes, and ſhort Noſes, excepting that, they come nothing ſhort of *European* Ladies, but their Modeſty, ſo natural to them, doth infinitely ſet off their Handſomneſs; a little Collar of white Sattin faſtened to a Veſt, keeps them light, and covers their Neck all over. Their Hands are always hid in long Sleeves; they tread ſoftly and gingerly, with their Eyes upon the Ground, their Head on one ſide, and a Man would imagine, to look on them, that they were a Company of Nuns or Devotees by Profeſſion, ſet apart, and ſequeſtred from

from the World, only taken up in the Service of God. So that it is obſervable, That Cuſtom hath many times more power to perplex and trouble the fair Sex, than the moſt auſtere and rigid Vertue : Nay, and it were a thing to be deſired, that Chriſtianity were able to obtain from Chriſtian Ladies here, what the Practice of the World hath for ſo many Ages inſpired into the Idolatrous *Chineſes*.

This Modeſty nevertheleſs does not hinder them from being poſſeſt with Womaniſh Whimſeys; the more they are confined, the leſs they love Solitude; they dreſs themſelves gorgeouſly, and ſpend all the Morning in making themſelves fine, thinking they may be ſeen in the day time, altho' perhaps they are not by any one but their own Domeſticks. Their Head-dreſs, which uſually conſiſts of ſeveral Locks buckled up, interlaced with Flowers of Gold and Silver, is ſomewhat odd. But I neither can, nor will, *My Lord*, give you a particular Deſcription of it, becauſe I know you do not expect it from me. However, I am perſwaded if People ſhould ſee the Model of them in *France*, they would go near to be tempted to quit that extravagant Company of Ornaments they uſe, to dreſs their Heads *a-la-mode de Chineſes*.

The Ladies wear, as Men do, a long Sattin or Cloath of Gold Veſt, red, blue, or green, according to their particular Phanſie; the elder ſort habit themſelves in black, or purple; they wear beſides that, a kind of *Surtout*, the Sleeves whereof, extream wide, trail upon the Ground, when they have no occaſion to hold them up. But that which diſtinguiſheth them from all the Women in the World, and does in a manner make a particular *Species* of them, is the littleneſs of their Feet, and here lyes the more eſſential point of their Beauty. That is miraculous, and cannot be comprehended; this Affectation proceeds ſometimes

times even to that Exceſs that would paſs for Folly, did not an extravagant and ancient Cuſtom (which in the buſineſs of the *Mode*, evermore prevails over the moſt natural *Idea*'s) oblige them to follow the Streams, and comply with the Cuſtom of the Country.

So ſoon as ever the Girls are born, the Nurſes take care to tye their Feet extream hard for fear of growing; Nature that ſeems to be diſpoſed for this Torment, does more eaſily buckle to it than one could imagine; nay, one does not perceive that their Health is impaired thereby. Their Shoes of Sattin, embroidered with Gold, Silver, and Silk, are extraordinary neat; and tho' they be very little, yet do they ſtudy to let them be ſeen as they walk; for walk they do (which one would not be apt to believe) and would walk all day long by their good will, if they had liberty to go abroad. Some have been perſwaded that it was an Invention of the ancient *Chineſes*, who to bring Women under a neceſſity of keeping within Doors, brought little Feet in faſhion. I have more than once inquired about it of the *Chineſe* themſelves, that never heard nothing of it. *Theſe are idle Tales*, ſays one of them ſmiling, *our Fore-fathers knew Women but too well, as we do, to believe that in retrenching half of their Feet, they could be deprived of the power of walking, and of longing to ſee the World.*

If People would have given themſelves the trouble to have conſulted the Relations concerning the Countenance and Phyſiognomy of the *China* Women; it would not have been ſo eaſie a matter to impoſe upon the eaſineſs of the Ladies of *Paris*, who entertain'd a poor *French* Woman the laſt year, giving her all manner of Relief, becauſe ſhe ſaid ſhe was an Outlandiſh Woman, and of one of the beſt Families in *China*. This Accident ſurpriſed all Curious Perſons, and the Marquis *de Croiſi* intimated to me that I would do him a kindneſs in examining the truth of the ſtory.

Charity, added he, is no leſs acceptable to God, altho' it be miſplaced upon Objects that deſerve it not. If the Buſineſs were only a bare Miſtake in Matter of Alms, one might, without any Scruple of Conſcience, leave thoſe in an Errour whom one deceives under a falſe pretence of Neceſſity. But this Maid ſaith ſhe was an Heathen, ſhe is exhorted long ſince to be Converted; ſhe conceives already, or at leaſt makes as if ſhe did conceive our Myſteries; in fine, ſhe deſires to embrace our Religion; and they are juſt upon the point to baptize her. If ſhe be a *Chineſe*, well and good; and we have cauſe to admire Divine Providence from bringing this Soul from ſo remote a Place, to be admitted into the Boſom of the Church; but if ſhe be a *French* Woman, who probably hath been baptized from her Infancy, this Abuſe of the Sacrament that ſhe's a going to receive a ſecond time, is a Sacriledge deſerving the ſevereſt Puniſhment; of which Sacriledge, thoſe that aſſiſt her become Guilty themſelves.

I was already much prepoſſeſſed with an ill Opinion of this pretended *Chineſe*; but, beſides the order of the Marquis *de Croiſſi*, I thought it would be good to ſift out the Buſineſs to the bottom, to undeceive thoſe that were any ways concern'd therein. When ſhe underſtood that I would come and ſee her, ſhe was not a little perplext. *He is not a* China *Father*, ſays ſhe, *but one of the* Indian *Miſſionaries, whom the Revolution of* Siam *hath made to come back.* Nay, they had much ado to find her, when I appeared; they ſought for her all up and down a good while, and at length unkennell'd her, and perſwaded her to make Appearance.

So ſoon as I ſaw her, I had no need of Examination, the Features of her Face, her Gate, her Feet, her whole Behaviour betray'd her. She feigned in ſpeaking *French*, that ſhe did not well underſtand the Language;

Language; but, beſides the placing of the words, which ſhe endeavoured not to pronounce articulately, was altogether natural, which is ſcarce ever got by Strangers, ſhe did alſo pronounce with a great deal of firmneſs ſeveral Letters not in uſe with the *Chineſes*, which it is impoſſible for them to expreſs.

After the firſt Diſcourſes, I demanded of what Province, and what Family of *China* ſhe was, and by what ſtrange Adventure ſhe was at ſuch a great Diſtance from her Country? *I am of* Pekin *it ſelf*, ſays ſhe, *the Metropolis of the Empire, born in the Emperor's Palace, brought up at Court, and Daughter to Prince* Coronné: That is to ſay, who does diſpoſe Sovereignly every thing; more a Maſter, and more powerful than the Emperor himſelf; whoſe Pleaſures are never interrupted by the Cares of Publick Affairs; who being little concerned at the good or bad Condition of the Empire, confines all his Ambition to the rendering himſelf happy, and to lead an eaſie and pleaſant Life.

I embarked with my Mother, who had a deſign to paſs into Japan, *there to treat of a Marriage for me. In the Paſſage our Veſſel was attacked by an* Holland *Pirate, that took it, and blew it up; and brought me away Priſoner. However the barbarous Pirate took ſuch care of me, as was capable to ſweeten my Captivity, if the loſs of my Mother had not reduced me to a Diſconſolate Condition, for ſhe died before mine Eyes, and the Repreſentation of ſo fatal an Accident that lay night and day heavy upon my Spirit, would ſcarce permit me to reflect upon the many kind Offices he did me.*

Nevertheleſs, my Condition was not ſo deplorable as I imagined; the victorious Hollander *was at length overcome by a* French *Privateer; I was a ſecond time a Captive, and treated by the new Captain with ſo much harſhneſs, that I was at that very moment apprehenſive that my Grief might increaſe, and that the exceſs of Miſeries that one en-*

dures in this World, is never so great, but one may become still more miserable. This Voyage was to me the longest, most dangerous, and accompanied with sorrow and bitterness. At length we came ashoar at a place I know not; they brought me out of the Ship, and after they had dragged me through several Provinces, they barbarously forsook me, and I found my self destitute, comfortless, and without any support, in the middle of this great City, which I hear called Paris.

'Tis true, Heaven hath not quite forsaken me; the word Pekin, *the only word, by which I can make known my Country; and to that purpose did I so often repeat it; hath brought me out of Misery. Some Ladies, at the hearing of this word were moved with Compassion, took me into their House, and have ever since treated me with so much Charity, that, I do not know if I ought to complain of Fate that hath conducted me into so good hands.*

She had, indeed, some cause to be well pleased with her Lot, much better in effect, than she could naturally expect. They treated her as a Maid of some Noble Family; nay, it was an Hundred pound to a penny but they had given her the quality of Princess *Couronné*, a Name much better known in *France* than *China*, where this Dignity is still in *fieri*. They told me moreover that divers Persons were impatient to do her a kindness, and that Monsieur *N.* one of our most famous Writers, had already Composed three extraordinary eloquent Letters in her Name; one for the Emperor, another for Prince *Couronné*, and the third for some other Prince of her Family. He hath, without doubt, what he deserved from the Persons that ingaged him in it; yet I do not believe that *China* will ever thank him for it.

For my part, *My Lord*, I do confess that the bare recital of this Adventure appear'd to me somewhat fabulous, and carries with it such a Romantick Air that is capable of undeceiving those, whom an excess of Charity

Charity had not quite blinded. Prince *Couronné* is a *Chimera*, that hath not the leaſt appearance of Truth in it. The Birth of a Maid in a Palace where there is none but Eunuchs, is ſtill more hard to be beleived. The *Hollanders* are not at War with the *Chineſes*, and it is not their beſt way to fall out with them, by Aſſaulting their Ships.

The *Chineſe* Dames, that ſcarce ever ſtir out of their Houſes, do not care for undertaking long Voyages at Sea : And the Match they were going to mannage is no more likely than *that* of a Princeſs of *France* that ſome body might feign to Embark at *Breſt*, to Sail into the *Indies* to eſpouſe ſome *Mandarin* of *Siam*.

Beſides, We know all the Veſſels that we have taken from the *Hollanders*, as well as thoſe that are arrived in *France* from the *Indies* : we know the Captains of them, we know their Prizes, their Engagements, their Adventures, and yet we hear not one word of what our *Chineſe* relates. Now if ſhe be ſo unfortunate as to be found in the Streets of *Paris* miſerable, forlorn, and unknown, ſhe ought not ſo much to lay the fault upon our *French* People, as upon her ill Fortune that took no care to place her better in this World.

But to Convince all thoſe who were preſent at our Interview, I put divers queſtions to her about the principle Cities in *China* ; I examined her concerning the Money, their Writing, the Characters and Language of the Country. She told me ſhe had often travelled from *Pekin* to *Nankin* in leſs then Three days, notwithſtanding it is above Three hundred Leagues from one to another ; that they uſed Gold Money, altho' Gold is not currant through all the Empire, but as precious Stones are in *Europe* ; that the Silver Coin was ſtamp as ours is, round, flat, bearing the Emperors Arms, with divers Figures according to the Cuſtom of Eaſtern Nations, notwithſtanding the Silver hath no regular Figure, they caſt it into Ingots,

they reduce it to what form they pleaſe without Arms, Order, or Ornament, they clip into great Pieces, as occaſion ſerves; and it is only by weight, not by the Emperor's Mark that they know its value.

I writ down ſome *Chineſe* Characters; for ſhe had boaſted that ſhe could read, a Perſon of her quality durſt not ſay the contrary; but the Misfortune was, ſhe miſtook her ſelf, and took the Paper at the wrong end, boldly reading the Letters, turn'd upſide down, as if they had been right: upon the whole, that which ſhe pronounced had no manner of relation to the genuine Senſe of the Writing. At laſt I ſpoke *Chineſe* to her, and for fear leaſt ſhe might avoid the difficulty, I acquainted her that I ſpake the *Mandarin* Language ſo currant throughout the Empire, which they conſtantly uſe at the Court. She was ſo impudent as to frame *ex tempore* a wild, ridiculous Gibberiſh, but ſo little underſtood, that it was evident ſhe had not time enough to make it hang well together; ſo that not being able to underſtand what I ſaid to her, I ſhould have been ſore put to it to explain what ſhe meant, if indeed ſhe did mean any thing.

After this Trial and Examination, ſhe might bluſh for ſhame, and ingeniouſly confeſs the Impoſture; but ſhe ſtill keeps up her Converſation without being concerned, and with ſuch an Air of Confidence that would make any one judge that this *China* Romance was not the firſt Story ſhe had made.

I thought, *My Lord*, that you would be very glad to be acquainted with this; beſides that it may afford you ſome pleaſure, it will alſo ſerve to let you underſtand, that the Mind, Countenance, and Behaviour of the *Chineſe* Women have no Affinity with thoſe of the *Europeans*; and that a *French* Woman muſt needs be brazen-fac'd, when under the borrowed Name of a *Chineſe*, ſhe pretends to impoſe upon Perſons who have, as long as I have done, ſeen both Nations.

After

After this little Digreſſion, you may be willing I ſhould take up my former Diſcourſe again. The Mens Habits, as every where elſe, are there much different from the Womens; they ſhave their Head all over, except behind, where they let grow as much Hair as is needful to make a long Treſs. They do not uſe a Hat as we do, but wear continually a Bonnet or a Cap, which Civility forbids putting off.

This Bonnet differs according to the different Seaſons of the year: That which they uſe in Summer is in form of a Cone, that is to ſay, round, and wide below, but ſhort, and ſtrait above, where it terminates in a meer Point. It is lined within with a pretty Sattin, and the top covered with a very fine Mat, very much eſteemed in the Country. Beſides that, they add thereto a great flake of red Silk, that falls round about it, and reaches to the Edges; ſo that when they walk this Silk flows irregularly on all ſides, and the continual Motion of the Head gives it a particular pleaſing Grace.

Sometimes in lieu of Silk they wear a ſort of long Hair, of a vivid ſhining red, which Rain does not deface, and is more eſpecially in uſe amongſt Men when they ride. This Hair comes from the Province of *Sout-chouen*, and grows upon the Legs of certain Cows; its natural Colour is white, but they give it a tincture, that makes it dearer than the fineſt Silk. In Winter they wear a Pluſh Cap, bordered with a Sable Fox-skin; the reſt is of a curious Sattin, black or purple, covered with a great flake of red Silk, like the Summer Cap. There is nothing more handſome than theſe Caps, which are ſold ſometimes for Eight or Ten Crowns; but they are ſo ſhallow, that they always diſcover the Ears, which is mighty inconvenient in the Sun, or upon a Journey. When the *Mandarins* are in their Formalities, the upper part of the Bonnet hath a Diamond in the Creſt, or ſome other

precious Stone ill cut, yet inchaſed in a Button of very curious wrought Gold: the others have a huge Tufft, or Button of Stuff, Agate, Cryſtal, or ſome other Matter.

Their Habit is long, and convenient enough for Students, but cumberſome for Men on Horſeback: It conſiſts of a Veſt that reaches to the Ground, the Skirts or Sides of which are folded before one over the other, in ſuch a manner that the uppermoſt is extended to the left ſide, where they faſten it all along, with four or five Gold or Silver Buttons. The Sleeves, that are wide towards the Shoulder, grow ſtraiter and ſtraiter to the Wriſt, like the Sleeves of a Prieſt's *Albe*, but they do in a manner cover the whole Hand, and leave nothing to be ſeen but the Fingers ends: They keep the Veſt cloſe with a broad ſilken Saſh, whoſe two ends hang down to the Knees. The *Tartars* ſtick an Handkerchief to it on both ſides, with a Sheath for a Knife and Fork, and Tooth-pick, a Purſe, and other pretty Implements. In Summer their Neck is all bare, which looks very ill, in Winter they cover it with a Collar of Sattin faſtened to the Veſt, or with a Tippet of Sable or Fox-skin, about three or four Fingers broad, which is faſtened before with a Button, which is very decent, and becomes Horſmen wonderfully.

Beſides the Veſt they put on a kind of *Surtout* with ſhort wide Sleeves like thoſe of your Bareſters Gowns; the Students wear them very long; the Gentlemen, and eſpecially the *Tartars*, will have them ſhort; and thoſe they uſe reach no farther than their Pocket-holes: As for their under Garment, they uſe in Summer only a ſingle pair of Drawers of white Taffaty, under a very broad and ſhort Shirt of the ſame Stuff; but in Winter the Shirt is of Linnen, and under it they have Breeches of courſe Sattin quilted with Cotton, or raw Silk, which is warmer.

All this is natural enough; but perhaps, *My Lord*, you

you will be ſurpriſed to hear that the *Chineſes* are always booted; and when any one renders them a Viſit, if they chance not to have their Boots on, they make them wait till they go fetch them.

We ſtand in need of this Example to authorize our ancient Cuſtom, but we carried on the Mode farther than they; for we have ſeen, that the *French* Men, not ſatisfied with walking booted along the Streets, armed them with huge jingling Spurs, that nothing might be wanting to the Ornaments of a Gentleman on Horſeback; but we are recovered as to this Point, and ſeveral others; but the *Chineſes* in all probability, that dote upon Antiquity, will not be cured of it in haſte; it is indeed, in reſpect of them, an extravagant piece of Foppery, not to dare to go into the City without their Boots, becauſe they are always carried in a Sedan.

This Mode would be ſtill the more pardonable in Winter; for their Boots being of Silk, and their Boothoſe of a pinked Stuff, lined with Cottons a good inch think, the Leg is thereby well defended againſt the Cold: But in Summer, where the Heat is exceſſive, no body living beſides the *Chineſes*, for the keeping up of an Air of Gravity, were able to endure to be at that rate in a kind of a Stove from Morning to Evening: And what is more ſtrange, your People that work ſcarce ever uſe them, either by reaſon of the inconvenience, or to ſave charges.

The form of theſe Boots is ſomewhat different from ours, for they have neither heel nor top; when they ride any long Journey, they are made of obſolete, old faſhion'd Leather, of thick, black, pinked Cotton; but in the City they uſually wear them of Sattin, with a courſe border of Pluſh or Velvet upon the Knee. The People in publick, and Perſons of Quality within Doors, are inſtead of Shoes, ſhod with Pattins of black Linnen, or ſome very pretty

Silk

Silk, very convenient; they ſtick cloſe to the Foot of themſelves, by a Border that covers the Heel, without needing to try them before.

They have not introduced the uſe of the Muff and Gloves into *China*; but the Sleeves of the Veſt being very long, they draw up their Hand into them when it is cold to keep it warm. I know not if I may make bold, *My Lord*, to add another Cuſtom, which is very ancient among the *Chineſes*, and by no means ſuitable to the *French* Politeneſs; their Doctors, and other Learned Men, let their Nails grow exceſſively, inſomuch that in ſome they are little ſhorter than their Fingers; it obtains amongſt them not only for an Ornament, but a Diſtinction, by which it may be known, that by their Condition they are ſeparated from Mechanick Arts, and are wholly addicted to Sciences. In ſhort, ſince they affect a ſtarched Gravity in all their ways, which conciliates Reſpect, they imagine with themſelves that a long Beard might contribute thereto, ſo they ſuffer it to grow; now if they have not much, it is not for want of Cultivating: But Nature in this point has been very niggardly, there is not a Man of them that does not envy the *Europeans*, whom they look upon in this reſpect as the greateſt Men in the World.

Here you have, *My Lord*, a particular Deſcription, that may in ſome meaſure acquaint you with the Deportment and Aſpect of the *Chineſes*; *I do not believe*, ſays a *Spaniard* to me one day, *that they ought to be offended at it in* France; *In all likelyhood thoſe Modes formerly reigned amongſt you; for tell me, is there any one of them, that hath eſcaped the fertile Invention of the* French; *in Fourteen hundred years, which is as long as the Monarchy hath continued, there have been above Fourteen hundred Modes. So that perhaps there is not that Habit in the World, that ſhould ſeem ſtrange to you; and all that we can ſay, when any Mode that is preſented to you,*

you, diſpleaſes you, is, that it is out of faſhion.

'Tis true, the *Chineſes* are not ſo fickle as we, but they have carried on things to another extremity: for rather than forſake their ancient Habit, they renewed a Cruel War againſt the *Tartars*; I, and the greateſt part of them had as live loſe their Head, as let their Hair be cut, of all the Exceſſes in point of Mode, none is more uncouth and phantaſtical than *that*, and how ridiculous ſoever the *Chineſes* may fear to look, after they have parted with an Head of Hair, yet they might be convinced that a Man whoſe Head is lop'd off, is worſe disfigured. However, we muſt grant that the Conſtancy of this People is admirable, for when the *Tartars* attacked them, they had kept their Habit for above Two thouſand years, which can be aſcribed to nothing but the good order obſerved in the Empire, the Government of which hath always been uniform, where the Laws have been exactly obſerved in the leaſt Punctilio's.

Notwithſtanding I am perſwaded theſe ways would not pleaſe all our *French* People; nay, and the Modes, of which we are ſo fond, do not appear ſo handſome to the *Chineſes* as we imagine; but above all, the Periwig does ſtrangely run in their Mind; and they look upon us as a ſort of People, who, for want of a Beard, would get an Artificial one clapt to the Chin, that ſhould reach to the Knees. This Phantaſtical Head-dreſs, ſay they, and that prodigious heap of curled Hair, are proper upon the Stage for a Man that would repreſent the Devil; But has one the ſhape of a Man when he is thus diſguiſed? Inſomuch that the *Chineſe* Politeneſs will go near upon this Article alone to araign us of Barbarity.

They have likewiſe much ado to be perſwaded, that long Shanks diſcovered, with a Stocken drawn ſtrait, and narrow Breeches, look handſome, becauſe they are accuſtomed to an Air of Gravity that gives them other Concep-

Conceptions. They would ſooner be reconciled with the Figure of a Magiſtrate ſhaven, without a Periwig, who ſhould in his Lawyers Gown go booted, than with all this Attire that makes our Cavaliers have a fine Shape, and eaſie and fine Gate, a quick and diſingaged Carriage; which will by no means go down with them. Thus Ridiculouſneſs pleaſes, and one is often times offended at Real Prettineſs, according as Prejudice or Cuſtom have differently changed the Imagination; there is notwithſtanding in all theſe Modes ſome other intrinſick real Beauty, which naked Simplicity, which Nature in her Innocence, and exempt from Paſſion, have inſpired into Men, for the Neceſſity and Conveniency of Life.

Altho' Perſons of Quality obſerve exactly all the Formalities and Decencies ſuitable to their State, and never appear uncovered in Publick, how great ſoever the heat be, yet in Private, and among their Friends they aſſume a freedom even to a fault; they ever and anon quit their Bonnet, Surtout, Veſt, and Shirt, reſerving nothing but a ſingle pair of Drawers of white Taffaty, or Tranſparent Linnen. That is the more ſurpriſing, becauſe they condemn all Nakedneſs in Pictures, and are even offended that our Engravers repreſent Men with their Arms, Thighs, and Shoulders uncovered; they ſeem to be in the right for being diſpleaſed at the unchriſtian Licence of our Workmen; but yet they are ridiculous to blame that upon a piece of Linnen, or Paper, which they practiſe themſelves with ſo much liberty and undecency in their own proper Perſons.

As for the Vulgar, they tranſgreſs in that reſpect all the Bounds of Modeſty, eſpecially in the Southern Provinces, where Water-men, and certain other Handicraſs-men, are impudent to the higheſt degree; and intruth the moſt barbarous *Indians*, notwithſtanding the Climate ſeems to excuſe them, appear'd to me in this reſpect

reſpect much leſs barbarous than the *Chineſes*; almoſt all the Artificers and inferiour Tradeſmen go along the Streets with ſingle Drawers, without Cap, Stockings, or Shirt, which makes them much tanned, and of a ſwarthy hue. In the Northern Provinces they are a little more reſerved; and the Cold, in ſpight of their Teeth, makes them modeſt, and keep within bounds.

After having deſcribed to you the Modes of *China*, perhaps you may be deſirous, *My Lord*, that I ſhould ſpeak of their Stuffs. Here is what I have obſerved of them in general: Their Silk, without queſtion, is the fineſt in the World; they make of it in many Provinces, but the beſt and faireſt is to be found in that of *Tchekiam*, becauſe the Soil is very proper for *Mulberry Trees*, and becauſe the Air is indued with a degree of Heat and Moiſture, more conformable to the Worms that make it. Every body deals in it, and the Traffick of it is ſo very great, that this Province alone is able to ſupply all *China*, and the greateſt part of *Europe*.

Yet the fineſt and faireſt Silks are wrought in the Province of *Nankin*, the Rendevouz of almoſt all the good Workmen. It is there that the Emperor furniſheth himſelf with the Silks ſpent in the Palace, and with thoſe he preſents to the Lords of the Court; the Silks of *Canton* notwithſtanding, are valued above all amongſt Strangers; and the Silks of this Province are alſo more ſaleable, and go off better than *thoſe* of all the other Provinces of *China*.

Altho' all theſe Silks have ſome reſemblance to ours, yet the Workmanſhip hath ſomething in it that makes a difference. I have there ſeen Pluſh, Velvet, Tiſſa of Gold, Sattin, Taffaty, Crapes, and ſeveral others, of which I do not ſo much as know the name in *France*; that which is the moſt currant amongſt them is called *Touanze*; it is a ſort of Sattin, ſtronger, but not ſo gloſſy

gloſſy as ours, ſometimes ſmooth, and ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by Flowers, Birds, Trees, Houſes, and ſhady Groves.

Theſe Figures are not raiſed upon the ground by a mixture of raw Silk, as our Workmen are uſed to do in *Europe*, which makes our Work not ſo durable; all the Silk of that is twiſted, and the Flowers are diſtinguiſhed only by the difference of Colours, and ſhadowing, when they mix Gold or Silver with it, it does much reſemble our Brocado, or flower'd Silk, but their Gold and Silver is wrought a way that is particular to them alone; for whereas in *Europe* we draw the Gold as fine as poſſibly it can be twiſted with the thred, the *Chineſes* to ſave the matter, or becauſe they did not bethink themſelves of this Trick, ſatisfie themſelves to gild or ſilver over a long Leaf of Paper, which they afterward cut into little Scrowls, wherein they wrap the Silk.

There is a great deal of Cunning in that; but this gilding will not laſt long, Water, or even Moiſtneſs it ſelf, will terniſh the Splendor of it quickly: yet for all that, when the Pieces come out of the Workmans hands, they are very fine, and one would take them for valuable Pieces. Sometimes they are contented only to put into the Piece theſe little Scrowls of gilded Paper, without rolling them upon the Thred, and then the Figures, altho' pretty and finely turn'd, do not laſt ſo long by far; and the Silk thus flowered is at a lower rate.

Amongſt the different Figures they repreſent, the Dragon is the moſt ordinary: There be two ſorts of them; one, to which they make five Claws, called *Lom*, is only uſed upon the Stuffs deſigned for the Emperor: that is his Arms, which *Tobi*, Founder of the Empire, firſt took for himſelf and Succeſſors, above Four thouſand years ago. The ſecond ſort of Dragons hath but four Claws, and is named *Mam*. The Emperor

ror *Vouvam*, who reigned Two thouſand eight hundred thirty two years ago, ordain'd that every body might bear the ſame; and ſince that time, the uſe of it is grown common.

They make uſe of another kind of Stuff in Summer, which the *Chineſes* call *Cha*; it is not ſo cloſe, nor hath ſo good a gloſs as our Taffaty, but much more ſubſtantial; altho' ſeveral People deſire to have it ſmooth and even, yet moſt wear it powdered with great Flowers pierced through, and cut into Flowers like your *Engliſh* Lace; and many times theſe hollowings are in ſuch a great number, that one can ſcarce diſcern the body of the Silk. Theſe Summer Garments are extraordinary convenient, and wonderful neat, ſo that all the Perſons of Quality uſe them: Beſides, the Taffaty is not dear; a whole Piece, enough to make a long Veſt and Surtout, will not amount to above 2 Guinea's.

The third is a particular ſort of Taffaty, that ſerves for Drawers, Shirts, Linings, they call it *Tcheouze*; it is cloſe, and withal ſo plyant, that it is vain to fold and double it, and ſqueeze it with your hand; you can ſcarce ever rumple it. It is ſold by weight; and is is ſo ſerviceable, that they waſh it as they do Linnen, without loſing much of its former luſtre.

Beſides the ordinary Silk of which I but now ſpoke, which we know in *Europe*, *China* hath of another ſort, which you meet with in the Province of *Chanton*. The Worms from which they take it are wild, they go to ſeek for them in the Woods; and I am not ſure, whether or no they breed of them in Houſes. This Silk is of a grey Colour, void of any gloſs; ſo that thoſe who are not well acquainted with it, take the Stuffs that are made of it for red Linnen, or for one of the courſeſt Druggets; yet for all that they infinitely value it, and it coſts more than Sattin too, they call them *Kien-Tcheou*; they will endure a long time; tho' ſtrong and cloſe, yet do they not fret; they waſh them

them as they do Linnen; and the *Chineſes* aſſure us, that Spots cannot ſpoil them, and that they do not ſo much as take Oil it ſelf.

Wooll is very common, and withal very cheap, eſpecially in the Provinces of *Chenſi* and *Chanſi*, and *Soutchouen*, where they feed abundance of Flocks, yet do not the *Chineſes* make Cloath. That of *Europe*, wherewith the *Engliſh* furniſh them, is highly eſteemed, but by reaſon they ſell it much dearer than the fineſt Silks, they buy but little of it. The *Mandarins* make themſelves ſtudying Gowns for the Winter of a kind of courſe Ruſſet, for want of better Cloath. As for Druggets, Serges, and Tammies, we ſcarce meet with better than theirs; the *Bonze's* Wives do commonly work them, becauſe the *Bonze's* make uſe of them themſelves; there is a great Trade driven of them every where in the Empire.

Beſides Cotton Linnen, that is very common, they uſe alſo for the Summer nettle Linnen for long Veſts; but that which is the moſt valued, and is to be found no where elſe, is called *Copou*: becauſe it is made of a Plant that the People of the Country call *Co*, found in the Province of *Fokien*.

It is a kind of creeping Shrub, whole Leaves are much bigger than Ivy-leaves; they are round, ſmooth, green within, whitiſh, and cottony, or downy, on the outſide; they let them grow and ſpread along the Fields. There be ſome of them as thick as your finger, which is plyable, and cottony as its Leaves are. When it begins to dry, they make the ſheaves of it to rot in Water, as they do Flax and Hemp; they always peel off the firſt skin, which they throw away; but of the ſecond, which is much more fine and delicate, they divide it by the hand into very ſlender and very ſmall Filaments, without beating, or ſpinning it, they make that Linnen of which I ſpake; it is tranſparent, pretty fine, but ſo cool and light, that one would think he had nothing on his back.

All

All Perſons of Quality make long Veſts of it during the exceſſive Heat, with a Surtout of *Cha*. In the Spring and Autumn they put on *Kien-tcheou*, and *Touanze* in Winter, that is to ſay, courſe Sattin, or flowered Silk. Grave Perſons deſire to have it even, others wear it flowered; but no body, except the *Mandarins* in the Aſſemblies, or upon certain Solemn Viſits, uſe Silk flowered with Gold or Silver. The Vulgar, that uſually habit themſelves in courſe Linnen dyed blue, or black, quilt it with Cotton, or line it with Sheepskin during the cold weather: But great Perſons line their Veſts and Surtouts with the noble Skins of Sable or Ermyn, Fox or Lamb: They uſe alſo for the ſame purpoſe Pluſh and *Petit-gris*.

Becauſe Ermyn is very rare in *China*, they content themſelves only to border their Veſts and extremity of their Sleeves with it; that which I have ſeen did not appear to me to be of a fair white.

Sable is pretty well known in *France*, but much leſs common there than in *China*, where all the conſiderable *Mandarins* wear it: One Skin only of a Foot long, and between four and ſix Inches broad (for the * Animal is but ſmall) will ſometimes coſt Ten Crowns: But when one chooſeth ſome of the fineſt for a compleat Habit, the whole Lining of a Veſt will coſt between 5 and 6000 Livres; yet one may have a pretty handſome one for 200 Piſtols.

* They call it *Inchu Tiaochu*.

Fox-skins are likewiſe much uſed, thoſe who would be magnificent take nothing but the Belly of this Animal, where the Hair is long, fine, and ſofteſt; and of a great number of ſmall pieces patched together, they compoſe an entire Lining, which for the Veſt and Surtout comes to a matter of five or ſix hundred Livres.

There are alſo ſeveral other ſorts of Furs that *Tartary* perhaps ſupplies them withal, which the *Mandarins*

make use of to sit upon the Ground, especially at the Palace when they wait, and expect the time of their Audience. They put some of them also under the Quilt, not only to heat the Bed, but also to take away its dampness. Besides, there is another Fur of a particular *Species*, that is perfectly handsome and fine, the Hair of it is long, soft, very thick set; it is of a pretty whitish grey mixt with black, striped with black and yellow Lists as those of Tigres; they make great Winter Gowns of them to wear in the City, putting the Fur on the out-side, so that when the *Mandarins* are thick and short, (which is very common with them) besides two Furs underneath for the Vest and Surtout, when, I say, they have put on their back one of these furr'd Gowns with long Hair, they differ but a little from Bears, or from the Animal of whom they borrowed the Skin; altho' in this Condition they think themselves to be very gentile, and to make a graceful Figure.

* Yam-pi.

Of all the Furrings the most common are Lambskins *. They are white, downy, and very warm, but burthensome, and at first of a strong smell, in a manner like those greezy Gloves that smell of Oil: I wonder they bring not up the Mode in *France*; those who delight in slender fine Shapes, would not submit to it, yet otherwise there is nothing more gentile, nor more convenient for Winter.

Upon the whole, if great Caution be not used, all these Furs are easily spoiled, especially in hot and moist Countries, Worms breed in them, and the Hair falls off: To prevent them, the *Chineses*, so soon as ever the Summer approaches, expose them to the Air for some days, when it is fair and dry Weather; then they beat them with Sticks, or shake them often, to get out the Dust; and when they have enclosed them in huge earthen Pots, into which they throw Corns of Pepper,

Pepper, and other bitter Drugs, they ſtop it up very cloſe, and there let them lye till the beginning of Winter.

Beſides their uſual Garments, there are yet two ſorts that deſerve to be known: They put on one to defend them from the Rain; for the *Chineſes*, who delight in Travelling, ſpare for no coſt to travel commodiouſly; they are made of a courſe Taffaty, cruſted over with a condenſed Oil, which is in lieu of Wax, which being once well dried, makes the Stuff green, tranſparent, and extraordinary gentile: They make Bonnets of it, Veſts, and Surtouts, that reſiſt the Rain for ſome time; but it gets through at laſt, unleſs the Garment be a choice one, and carefully prepared. The Boots are of Leather, but ſo little that the Stockings are ſpoiled at the Knee, except one be a Horſe-back, like the *Tartars*, with their Legs doubled up, and their Stirrups extream ſhort.

The Mourning Habit hath alſo ſomething odd in it, The Bonnet, Veſts, Surtout, Stockings and Boots are made of white Linnen, and from the Prince to the moſt inferiour Handicrafts-man, none dare wear any of another colour. In cloſe Mourning the Bonnet ſeems phantaſtick, and very difficult to be repreſented; it is of a red and very clear Canvas Cloath, not much unlike the Canvas we uſe for packing up Commodities. The Veſt is kept cloſe with a Girdle of Canvas; the *Chineſes* in this poſture do at the beginning affect a careleſs Behaviour, and Grief and Sorrow ſeems painted all over the outward Man; but all being nothing but Ceremony, and Affectation with them, they eaſily put on their own Face again; they can Laugh and Cry both with a wind; for I have ſeen ſome Laugh immediately after they had ſhed abundance of Tears over the Tomb of their Fathers.

Perhaps, *My Lord*, you may have the Curioſity to know after what manner the Miſſionaries, who labour about the Converſion of the Infidels, are habited; the

Laws, that ſuffer no Foreign Mode to take place, determined the firſt Jeſuits to take the Garb of the *Bonzes* at the beginning: But this Garb, though grave and modeſt enough, was ſo cried down by the ignorance and irregular Life of thoſe wicked Prieſts, that that alone was ſufficient to deprive us of the Company and Correſpondence of honeſt People.

In effect, nothing was ſo diametrically oppoſite to Religion: ſo that after a long deliberation, they thought it more adviſeable to take the Students Habit, which, together with the quality of *European* Doctor, did capacitate us to ſpeak to the People with ſome Authority, and to be heard by the *Mandarins* with ſome reſpect. From that very time we had free Acceſs every where, and God did ſo far vouchſafe a Bleſſing to the Labours of our firſt Miſſionaries, that the Goſpel in a ſhort time was propagated with conſiderable Succeſs.

But in the late Revolution of the Empire, theſe Fathers, as well as the *Chineſes*, were forced to go in the *Tartarian* Faſhion, after the manner as I told you. In the Viſits made to the *Mandarins* upon the account of Religion, we could not diſpenſe from wearing a Veſt and Surtout of common Silk; but in the Houſe we are clothed in Serge or painted Linnen.

So that, *My Lord*, preſerving as much as lyes in us the Spirit of Poverty ſuitable to our Condition, we endeavour to *become all things to all Men*, after the Apoſtles example, *that we may the more eaſily win over ſome to Jeſus Chriſt*; being perſwaded, that as to a Miſſionary, the Garment, Diet, Manner of Living, and exterior Cuſtoms ought all to be referred to the great Deſign he propoſes to himſelf, to Convert the whole Earth. A Man muſt be a Barbarian with Barbarians, Polite with Men of Parts, Auſtere and Rigid to Exceſs among the *Indian* Penetents, handſomly Dreſt in *China*, and half Naked in the Wilderneſs of

of *Medura*, to the end that the Goſpel always uniform, always unalterable in it ſelf, may the more eaſily inſinuate it ſelf into the Minds of Men whom an holy Compliance and Conformity to Cuſtoms regulated by Chriſtian Prudence, have already prepoſſeſt in favour to us. I am with the moſt profound Reſpect,

My Lord,

Your moſt humble

and moſt obedient Servant

L. J.

LETTER VI.

To the Dutchess of Bouillon.

Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence of the Chineſes.

MADAM,

THE Zeal that your Grace hath ſhewn to be fully informed of the preſent State of the Miſſions in *China* hath been an infinite Satisfaction to me: But I confeſs, I was a little ſurpriſed, that amongſt ſo many curious things to be met with in this new World, you have in a manner wholly inſiſted upon that which relates to the Neatneſs and Magnificence of the *Chineſes*. I know very well that it is the uſual Subject of Diſcourſe among the Ladies, and I could have almoſt expected no more from any other.

But for you, *Madam*, when I had the honour to ſee you, I had prepared my ſelf for Subjects of a quite different nature; I made account you would diſcourſe with me concerning the Ingenuity, Sciences, and Politeneſs of this People: And whereas Travellers do uſually affect to prefer what they have ſeen amongſt Foreigners, to that which is found in their Native Soil, I pleaſed my ſelf that I could ſincerely and ſafely tell you, that the *French* Ladies (I mean thoſe, who like you, have raiſed themſelves above thoſe Toyiſh Cares, that

that do in a manner totally poſſeſs the fair Sex) have more Wit, Capacity, and a more raiſed *Genius*, even in the ſolid and ſubſtantial Sciences, than all the great Doctors of that Empire; for as for Politeneſs, I can ſcarce believe, *Madam*, that you can doubt of it; and it is not neceſſary to be Miſtreſs of as much of it as you are, to deface and eclipſe the moſt Polite Courts of the Eaſt.

But ſince, either by Chance, or by Reflexion, you have been pleaſed to confine your ſelf to another Subject, and that you deſire a Methodical Account of what I have had the honour to relate to you of it, I ſhall obey you, *Madam*, not only with that profound reſpect I owe to your Quality and Merit, but alſo with all the Sentiments of grateful Acknowledgment the Favours you have vouchſafed to honour me, have inſpired me withal.

The *Chineſes* come far ſhort of us in the Magnificence of their Houſes, beſides that the Architecture is not beautiful, nor the Apartments ſpacious, they do not ſtudy to adorn them; and that chiefly for two Reaſons: The firſt is, Becauſe in all the Palaces of the *Mandarins* belong to the Emperor, he lodges them (and I cannot tell whether they obſerve the ſame order throughout the whole Empire) but the People furniſh them in ſome places. The People are always at as little Expence as they can; and the *Mandarins* do not care to ruin themſelves to embelliſh Palaces, that they are every day in danger of forſaking, becauſe their Places are properly nothing but Commiſſions, which are many times taken away upon the leaſt Fault.

The 2d Reaſon is fetch'd from the Cuſtom of the Country, which does not allow to receive Viſits in the inner part of the Houſe, but only at the Entrance in a *Divan* they have contrived for the Ceremonies. It is a Banqueting Houſe all open, that hath no other Ornament beſides one ſingle Order of Columns of

Wood painted or verniſhed, which they uſe only to uphold the Beams and Timber, that often appears under the Tiles, no body taking care to cover it with a Cieling. So that it is no wonder if they retrench all the ſuperfluous Ornaments of their Apartments, ſeeing Foreigners and Strangers ſcarce ever ſet foot in them; they have neither Looking-glaſſes, Tapeſtry-hangings, nor wrought Chairs: Gildings are not in faſhion, ſave only in ſome of the Emperors or Prince of the Bloods Apartments. Their Beds, which amongſt them are one of the principal Ornaments, never come in ſight, and it would be a piece of groſs Incivility to carry a Stranger into a Bed-chamber, even when you pretend to ſhew him your Houſe.

Inſomuch that all their Magnificence may be reduced to Cabinets, Tables, Verniſht Skreens, ſome Pictures, divers Pieces of white Sattin, upon which there is writ in a large Character ſome Sentance of Morality, which is hung here and there in the Chamber, together with ſome Veſſels of Porcelain; neither have they occaſion to uſe even them as we do, becauſe there is no Chimney to be ſeen in the Chamber.

Nevertheleſs all that is very handſome and neat, when one underſtands how to manage the Ornaments. Verniſh, which is ſo common in *China*, is diſperſt all over; it takes all Colours, they mix Flowers of Gold and Silver with it, they paint Men, Mountains, Palaces, Huntings, Birds, Combats, and ſeveral Figures, that make a baſs relief in the Work, and renders it extreamly pleaſing and delightful, ſo that in this point the *Chineſes* are Magnificent for ſmall Charges.

Beſides the brightneſs and luſtre which is the property of Verniſh, it hath moreover a certain quality of preſerving the Wood upon which it is applied, eſpecially if they do not mix any other Matter with it. Worms do not eaſily breed in it, nay, and Moiſture ſcarce ever penetrates it, not ſo much as any Scent can faſten

faſten to it; if during Meals there be any Greaſe or Pottage ſpilt, if it be preſently wiped with a wet Clout, one not only finds no remainders or ſigns of it, but does not ſo much as perceive the leaſt ſmell.

People were miſtaken when they fancied that Verniſh was a Compoſition, and a particular Secret, it is a Gum that diſtils from a Tree, much what after the ſame manner as Roſin doth. In the Tuns wherein it is tranſported, it reſembles melted Pitch or Tar, excepting only that it hath no ſmell when it is uſed. There muſt be Oil mixt with it to beat it up with more or leſs, according to the quality of the Work.

For Tables and ordinary Chairs, it is ſufficient to lay on two or three layers of Verniſh, which makes it ſo tranſparent, that one may diſcern every Vein of the Wood through it. Now if you would hide all the Matter on which you are at work, you muſt do it over and and over again, till at length it be nothing but Ice, but ſo fine at firſt, that it may ſerve for a Mirror. When the Work is dry, they paint upon it ſeveral Figures in Gold, Silver, or in any other Colour; they go over that again, if they pleaſe, with a ſleight touch of Verniſh, to give them a luſtre, and the better to preſerve them.

But thoſe who would perform a finiſhing ſtroke, glew upon the Wood a kind of Paſtboard compoſed of Paper, Packthred, Lime, and ſome other Subſtance well beaten with which the Verniſh incorporateth. They compoſe a ground of it perfectly even and ſolid, upon which is applied the Verniſh by little and little, in little *Stratums*, which they let dry one after another. Every Workman hath a peculiar Secret to perfect his Work, as in all other Occupations. But in my opinion, beſides the dexterity and ſlight of hand, and the due tempering the Verniſh requires, that it may be nether too thick nor thin: Patience is one thing that contributes the moſt to the well ſucceeding

in

in this Operation. There are very pretty and curious Cabinets at *Tonkin*; but what is brought to us from *Japan*, as to that matter, are no way inferiour to the *China* work.

As for Porcelain, it is such an ordinary moveable, that it is the Ornament of every House; the Tables, the Side-boards, and very Kitchin is cumber'd with it, for they eat and drink out of it, it is their ordinary Vessel: There is likewise made huge Flower-pots of it. The very Architects cover Roofs, and make use of it at times to incrustate Marble Buildings.

Amongst those that are most in request, they are of three different Colours; some are yellow, yet tho' the Earth be very fine, they appear more course than the others; and the reason is, because that Colour does not admit of so fine polishing; it is used in the Emperor's Palace. Yellow is his own proper Colour, which is not allowed to any Person to bear; so that one may safely say, that as for the business of Porcelain, the Emperor is the worst served.

The second sort is of a grey Colour, with abundance of small irregular Lines in it, that cross one another, as if the Vase were all over striped, or wrought with inlaid or Mosaic work. I cannot imagine how they form these Figures; for I have much ado to believe that they are able to draw them with a Pencil. Perhaps when the Porcelain is baked, and yet hot, it is exposed to the cold Air, or that they infuse it in warm Water that opens it in that manner, on all sides; as it often happens to Crystals during Winter, after that they add a *Stratum* of Vernish to it, which covers these inequalities, which by means of a gentle fire into which they put it again, it is made as even and polisht as before. However it is, these sort of Vases partake of a particular Beauty; and sure I am, the Curious amongst us would much value them.

Last of all, the third sort of Porcelain is white, with divers

divers Figures of Flowers, Trees and Birds, which they paint in blue, juſt ſuch as come hither into *Europe*: This is the commoneſt of all, and every body uſes it. But in reſpect of Glaſſes and Cryſtals, as all Work is not equally beautiful, ſo amongſt Porcelains ſome of them are but indifferent, and are not worth much more than our Earthen Ware.

Thoſe that have Skill do not always agree in their Judgment they paſs upon them; and I perceive that in *China*, as well as in *Europe*, Phancy bears a main ſtroke in the matter; yet it is granted by all hands, that four or five different things are to concur to make them compleat and perfect; the fineneſs of the Matter, the whiteneſs, the politeneſs, the painting, the deſigning of the Figures, and faſhion of the Work.

The Fineneſs is diſcovered by its Tranſparency, in which reſpect is to be had to its Thickneſs, the Brims are commonly thinner, and it is in that place where they ought to be conſidered: When the Veſſel is big, it is a difficult matter to determine any thing thereupon, unleſs one have a mind to break off ſome pieces below; for there the Colour of the inner part alone, or as they term it, the Grain, affords a ſhrewd gueſs, which appears likewiſe, when the two pieces can be joyned together again ſo perfectly, that no rupture appears therein, for that is a ſure token of the hardneſs, and conſequently of the fineneſs of the matter.

The Whiteneſs is not to be confounded with the brightneſs of the Verniſh by which the Porcelain is overſpread, which ſhews like a Mirrour; ſo that beholding it near to ſome other Objects, the Colours are painted upon it; and this Reflexion alone is capable of making one paſs a wrong Judgment upon its native whiteneſs; it muſt be carried into the open Air, to be able to underſtand its beauty and defects. Albeit this Verniſh be perfectly incorporated with the

Matter,

Matter, and tho' it continues to perpetuity, yet is it terniſhed at long run, and loſeth that brisk ſplendour it had at the beginning, from whence it comes to paſs that the whiteneſs appears more taking and pretty in old Porcelains; not but the new ones for all that are as good, and will in time aſſume the ſame colour.

The Smoothneſs and Politeneſs conſiſts in two things, in the brightneſs of the Verniſh, and evenneſs of the Matter. The Verniſh ſhould not be thick, otherwiſe there will be a Cruſt introduced, which will not be incorporated enough with the Porcelain; beſides, its luſtre will be too great and ſprightly. The Matter is perfectly equal and even, when it has not the leaſt bump, when there is to be obſerved in it neither grain, riſing, nor depreſſion: There are few Veſſels but have ſome one of theſe defects; there muſt not only be found no ſpots, nor flaws, but notice muſt be taken whether there be ſome places brighter than others, which happens when the Pencil is unequally poiſed; ſometimes alſo that may happen when the Verniſh is laid on, if every part be not equally dry; the leaſt moiſture cauſeth a ſenſible difference therein.

The Painting is not one of the leaſt beauties of the Porcelain; for that purpoſe one may make uſe of all Colours, but commonly they uſe red, and much more blue. I never ſaw any Veſſel whoſe red was lively enough; it is not becauſe the *Chineſes* have not very lovely red, but perhaps becauſe this Colour is terniſhed upon the Matter, and aſperates, and makes rugged the ſubtileſt and deepeſt colour'd parts: for the different grounds contribute much to the hightning or leſſening the luſtre of the Colours. As for blue, they have it moſt excellent; however, it is very difficult to hit upon that exact temperature, where it is neither too pale, deep, intenſe, nor too bright. But that which Workmen moſt diligently ſeek after, is, to perfect the extremities of the Figures, ſo that the Colour

lour do not extend beyond the Pencil, to the end that the whiteneſs of the Porcelain may not be ſullied by a certain bluiſh Water, which flows, if ſpecial care be not taken, from the Colour it ſelf, when it is not well pounded, or when the Matter on which it is laid, hath not attained a certain degree of drineſs; much after the ſame manner as happens to Paper that blots when it is moiſt, or when you write with naughty Ink.

It were to be wiſht, that the deſigns the *Chineſes* uſe in painting Porcelain were fairer; they paint likewiſe Flowers upon them, but Humane Figures are all mutilated. But in that very thing they diſgrace themſelves in the Opinion of Strangers, who do not know what they are but only by that, and who imagine, that they are in effect as monſtrous in their ſhape, as they appear in the Pictures; yet thoſe are their uſual Ornaments. The more regular Deſigns and skilful Draughts would be ſometimes leſs pleaſing to them than theſe Anticks.

To make amends, they are very ingenious and expert in turning their Vaſes well, of what ſize ſoever they be. The Figure of them is bold, well proportioned, perfectly rounded, nay, and I do not believe that our skilfulleſt Workmen are able to faſhion the great pieces better; they, as well as we, put a great value upon ancient Vaſes, but for a reaſon quite different from ours; we value them becauſe they are fairer; they for their Antiquity; not but that the Artificers are as expert, and the Matter as good conditioned now as heretofore: There are ſtill very fine ones made at this day; and I have ſeen at ſome *Mandarins* Houſes whole Services that were ſuperfine. But the *European* Merchants do no longer Trade with the good Workmen, and having no Skill in them themſelves, they accept whatſoever the *Chineſes* expoſe to Sale; for they vend them in the *Indies*. Beſides, no body takes care to furniſh them with examples of Draughts, or to beſpeak particular Pieces of Work before hand. If M^r *Conſtance* had

had lived, we ſhould quickly have known in *France* that *China* had not loſt the ſecret Art of Porcelain: But this is not the greateſt loſs we have ſuſtained by his death; what Religion ſuffers by it through all the *Eaſt*, will ſcarce give us leave to take notice of the Alterations it hath cauſed in Arts and Trading.

There is yet another Reaſon that makes the curious Porcelain ſo rare; The Emperor has conſtituted in the Province where the Manufacture chiefly is, a particular *Mandarin*, whoſe care it is to make choice of the faireſt Vaſes for the Court; he buys them at a very reaſonable rate, ſo that the Workmen being but ill paid, do not do their beſt, and are not willing to take any pains for that which will not enrich them. But ſhould a private Man employ them, who would not ſpare for Coſt and Charges, we ſhould have at this day as curious Pieces of Workmanſhip, as thoſe of the ancient *Chineſes*.

The *China* Ware that is brought to us from *Fokien*, does not deſerve the name of it; it is black, courſe, and is not ſo good as our *Fayance*. That which is moſt lookt upon is that which is made in the Province of *Quamſi*, the Clay is found in one place, and the Water in another, becauſe it is clearer and cleaner; perhaps alſo, this Water they make uſe of before any other, is impregnated with ſome particular Salts, proper to purifie and refine the Clay, or by the more ſtrictly uniting the parts, as it happens in Lime, which is good for nothing, if it be not ſlaked in ſome certain Waters, whereas others make it more compact, ſtrong, and adhering.

In brief, it is a miſtake to think that there is requiſite one or two hundred years to the preparing the Matter for the Porcelain, and that its Compoſition is ſo very difficult; if that were ſo, it would be neither ſo common, nor ſo cheap. It is a Clay ſtiffer than ordinary Clays; or rather, a kind of ſoft white Stone, that

that is found in the Quarries of that Province. After having waſht the pieces of it, and ſeparated the heterogenious Earth that may chance to be mixt with it, they bray it ſmall till it be reduc'd to a ſubtil Powder. How fine ſoever it may appear, yet they continue pounding it for a long time, altho' by the touch no difference is to be perceived, yet they are perſwaded that it is indeed made much more ſubtil, that the inſenſible Parts are leſs mixt, and that the Work thereby comes to be whiter and more tranſparent. Of this ſubtil Powder they make a Paſte, which they kneed, and beat a long while likewiſe, that it may become ſofter, and that the Water may be the more perfectly incorporated therewith. When the Earth is well elaborated, they endeavour the figuring of it. It is not likely that they uſe Moulds, as they do in ſome other ſorts of Potteries; but it is more probable that they faſhion them upon the Wheel like us. So ſoon as their Work pleaſes them they expoſe it to the Sun, Morning and Evening, but they retire it when the Sun waxes too hot, for fear of warping it. So the Vaſes dry by degrees, and they apply the painting at their leiſure, when they judge the ground proper for to receive it; but becauſe neither the Vaſes nor the Colours have ſufficient luſtre, they make a very fine Broth or Ly of the Matter of the ſame Porcelain, wherewith they paſs ſeveral ſtrokes upon the Work, that gives them a particular whiteneſs and luſtre: This is what I call the Verniſh of the Porcelain. They aſſured me in the Kingdom of *Siam* that they mixt with it ſome common Verniſh, with the Compoſition made of the white of an Egg, and ſhining Bones of Fiſh; but this is but a phanſie; and the Workmen of *Fokien*, who work juſt as thoſe of *Quamſi*, don't do otherwiſe. After all theſe Preparations, they put the Vaſes in the Furnace, wherein they kindle a gentle and conſtant uniform Fire, that bakes them without breaking;

breaking; and for fear leaſt the exterior Air ſhould do them damage, they do not draw them out till a long while after, when they have acquired their due conſiſtance, and after they have been let cool at leiſure.

This is all, *Madam*, I have to ſay as to the Myſtery of Porcelain, that they have ſo long ſought after in *Europe*. Providence, and the Proſperity of Religion, that obliged me to run over the greateſt part of *China*, did not carry me into the Province of *Quamſi*, where the Metal is found whereof they make it; ſo that I do not ſufficiently know it, as to mine own particular, for to be able to deſcribe the nature and particular qualities thereof; perhaps it is not much different from ſome ſoft Stones that are found in ſeveral Provinces of *France*. And if ſo be the Ingenious would pleaſe to make ſome Experiments, and operate diligently, by making uſe of ſeveral ſorts of Waters, after the above-mentioned manner, it might not be impoſſible to ſucceed.

Beſides theſe Verniſht Cabinets and Veſſels of Porcelain, the *Chineſes* adorn likewiſe their Apartments with Pictures: They do not excel in this Art, becauſe they are not curious in perſpective, notwithſtanding they diligently apply themſelves thereto, they take delight in it; and there are a great Company of Painters in the Country; ſome paint the Cieling, repreſenting upon the Chamber-walls, an order of Architecture without Symetry, by Bands or Fillets continued all along around at the top and bottom of the Wall, and above the Capital of the Colomn, which contains only ſingle Colomns, placed at an equal diſtance, without any other Ornament of Architecture. Others only whiten the Chamber, or glew Paper upon it. They hang the Pictures of their Anceſtors up and down, with ſome Maps and Pieces of white Sattin, on which is painted Flowers, Fowls, Mountains, and Palaces; upon ſome others they write in Capital Letters Sentences of Morality, that explain the

the Maxims and Rules of perfect Government. Some Chairs, verniſht Tables, ſome Cabinets, Flower-Pots, Lanthorns of Silk, all this well ordered, and placed in due proportion, makes a pretty handſome Apartment.

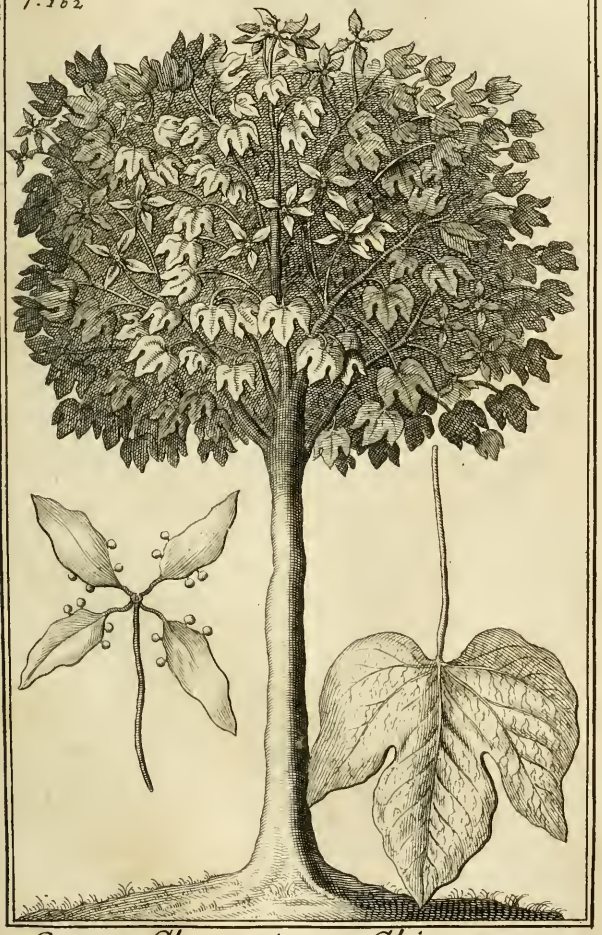
Altho' you do not enter the Bed-chamber, yet are their Beds very fine; in Summer they have Taffaty Curtains powdered with Flowers, Trees, and Birds in Gold and Silk embroidery. This ſort of Work that comes from the Province of *Nankin* are in requeſt, and as to point of Moveables, I have ſeen nothing in all *China* more magnificent. Others have Curtains of the fineſt *Gaze*; that is not a ſufficient Baracado againſt the Air, but cloſe enough to defend them againſt Flies and Gnats, that are intollerable in the Night. In Winter they make uſe of courſe Sattin ſtitched with Dragons and other Figures, according as every ones Capricio leads them: The Counterpain is in a manner the ſame. They do not uſe Feather Beds; but their Cotton Quilts are very thick; their Bedſtead ordinarily is of Joyners work, beautified with Figures. I have ſeen ſome very fine and exquiſite.

By all that I have ſaid, you may judge, *Madam*, that theſe People have ſhut themſelves up within the Bounds of Neceſſity and Profit, without being over ſolicitous about Magnificence, which is very regular, tho' but very indifferent in their Houſes. They likewiſe ſeem more negligent as to their Gardens, they have in that reſpect Conceptions much different from ours; and ſetting aſide places deſigned for the Sepulchre of their Anceſtors, which they leave untilled, they would think themſelves out of their Wits, to put the Ground to no other uſe than to make Alleys and Walks, to cultivate Flowers, and plant Groves of unprofitable Trees. The benefit of the Commonweal commands that all ſhould be ſowed; and their own particular Intereſt, that more nearly concerns them than the Publick Good, doth not permit them to prefer Pleaſure to Profit.

'Tis true, the Flowers of the Country do not deſerve their looking after; they have none curious; and tho' many may be met with like thoſe in *Europe*, yet do they cultivate them ſo ill, that one has much ado to know them. Nevertheleſs there are Trees to be ſeen in ſome places, that would afford great Ornament in their Gardens, if they knew how to diſpoſe them. Inſtead of Fruit they are almoſt all the year long laden with Flowers of a florid Carnation; the Leaves are ſmall, like thoſe of the Elm, the Trunk irregular, the Branches crooked, and Bark ſmooth. If Alleys were made of them mixing therewith (which might eaſily be done) ſome Orange Trees, it would be the moſt pleaſant thing in the World: But ſeeing the *Chineſes* walk not much, Alleys do not agree with them.

Amongſt other Trees they might diſpoſe of in Gardens, there is one they call *Outom-chu*, reſembling the Sycomore; the Leaves are in Diameter between 8 or 9 Inches, faſten'd to a Stalk a foot long; it is extreamly tufted, and laden with Cluſters of Flowers ſo thick ſet, that the Sun cannot interſqueeze a Ray: The Fruit which is extraordinary ſmall notwithſtanding the Tree be one of the biggeſt, is produced after the manner I am about to relate: Towards the Month of *Auguſt*, or end of *July*, there Springs out of the very point of the Branches, little bunches of Leaves different from the other, they are whiter, ſofter, and as broad, and are in lieu of Flowers, upon the border of each of theſe Leaves grow three or four ſmall Grains, or Kernels as big as green Peas, that incloſe a white Subſtance, very pleaſant to the taſte, like to *that* of an Hazle Nut that is not yet ripe. This Tree being fruitful, and the manner of bearing its Fruit being ſomething extraordinary, I was apt to believe, *Madam*, you might be deſirous to ſee the Deſcription of it, which I have cauſed to be engraven.

The *Chineſes*, who ſo little apply themſelves to order their



Outom-Chu A Tree in China

their Gardens, and manage the real Ornaments, are nevertheleſs taken with them, and are at ſome coſt about them; they make Grotto's in them, raiſe little pretty Artificial Eminences, tranſport thither by piece-meal whole Rocks, which they heap one upon another, without any further deſign, than to imitate Nature. If they could, beſides all this, have the convenience of ſo much Water as is neceſſary to water their Cabbage and Ligumenous Plants, they would think they could deſire no more as to that point. The Emperor hath *Jets d'eau*, or Fountains, of *European* Invention, but private Perſons content themſelves with their Ponds and Wells.

Now if this People be careleſs in Domeſtick Ornaments, there are none who do more affect to appear magnificent in Publick. The Government that condemns, or rather does not allow, but regulates Expences as to other matters, does not only approve of this, but contributes to it on theſe occaſions, for reaſons that I ſhall tell you in the ſequel of the Hiſtory.

When Perſons of Quality receive Viſits, or make any, when they go along the Streets, or when upon their Journey, but eſpecially at ſuch time when they appear before the Emperor, or make their Addreſs to the Viceroys, they are always accompanied with a Train and Air of Grandeur that fills one with Aſtoniſhment.

The *Mandarins* richly habited are carried in a Sedan gilded, and open, born upon the ſhoulders of 8, or 16 Perſons, accompanied with all the Officers of their Tribunal, who ſurround them with Umbrello's and other Marks of their Dignity. There be ſome that walk before them two and two, bearing Chains, Faſces, Scutcheons of verniſht Wood, upon which may be read in large gold Characters, all the Titles of Honour annext to their Places of Truſt, together with a broken Baſon upon which they beat a certain number of ſtrokes, according to the Rank they bear in the

Province; they continually ſpeak aloud, and threaten the People to make way. Other Officers follow in the ſame order, and ſometimes four or five Gentlemen on Horſeback bring up the Rear. Such a *Mandarin* there is, that never appears in Publick without a Train of three or fourſcore Domeſticks.

Thoſe that belong to the Army go commonly on Horſeback, and when they are of any conſiderable Rank, they are evermore at the Head of Twenty five, or Thirty Cavaliers. The Princes of the Blood at *Pekin* are preceded by four of their Officers, and follow themſelves in the middle of a Squadron that marches without order. In brief, they wear no Liveries in *China*, but the Domeſticks are habited according to the Quality of their Maſters in black Sattin, or painted Linnen. Altho' the Horſes be neither fine, nor well managed, yet are the Trappings and Harneſs very magnificent; the Bits, Saddle, and Stirrups are gilded, or elſe of Silver. Inſtead of Leather they make Bridles of two or three Twiſts of courſe pinkt Sattin two fingers broad. Under the Horſes Neck, at the beginning of the Breaſt-plate, hang two great Toſſels of that curious red Horſe-hair wherewith they cover the Bonnets, which are faſtened to two huge Buttons of Braſs gilded or waſht with Silver, hung at Rings of the ſame Metal, that makes a Horſe look great upon a March, altho' upon a long Journey, eſpecially upon a Courſe, it is cumberſome.

Not only the Princes and Perſons of the higheſt Rank appear in Publick with a Train, but even thoſe of a meaner quality go always on Horſeback along the Streets, or in a cloſe Sedan, followed by ſeveral Footmen: The *Tartarian* Ladies do often make uſe of Calaſhes with two Wheels, but they have not the uſe of the Coach.

The Magnificence of the *Chineſe Mandarins* principally diſplays it ſelf in the Journeys they take by Water; the

the prodigious bigneſs of their Barges, that are little inferiour to Ships, the finery, carving, painting and gilding of the Apartments, the great number of Officers and Seamen that ſerve aboard, the different Badges of their Dignity every where diſplay'd, their Arms, Flags, Streamers, all this, I ſay, does abundantly diſtinguiſh them from the *Europeans*, who are never worſe accoutred, or more careleſs than when they Travel.

Beſides, the *Chineſes* have their Solemn Feaſts, which they celebrate with great pomp and charges; the firſt three days in the year are ſpent in rejoycing throughout the whole Empire; they Array themſelves magnificently, they viſit one another, they ſend Preſents to all their Friends, and to all the Perſons whom it any way concerns them to obſerve. Gaming, Feaſting, and Comedies take up every bodies time. Ten or twelve days before are committed abundance of little Robberies, becauſe thoſe who are deſtitute of Money, ſeek how to come by it, and are reſolved to have ſome whoever go without, to ſupply them in theſe Diverſiſements.

The 15th day of the firſt Month is ſtill more Solemn; they call it the *Day* or *Feaſt of Lanthorns*; becauſe they hang them up in all the Houſes, and in all the Streets, in ſuch a great number, that it is a Madneſs, rather than a Feſtival: They light up, it may be, that day two hundred Millions. You will ſee, *Madam*, by what I am going to relate, that they have run into Extremes in this Ceremony, which otherwiſe might have been tolerated, as ſeveral other Cuſtoms are, to comply with that Peoples humour, which are become the moſt ſerious delight of Perſons of Quality.

They expoſe to view that day Lanthorns of all prices; ſome of them coſt Two thouſand Crowns; and ſuch a Grandee there is who retrenches every year ſomething from his Table, from his Apparel, and from

his Equipage, to appear magnificent in Lanthorns. It is not the Materials that is dear, the Gilding, Sculpture, the Painting, Silk, and Verniſh make all the ſhew. As for the bigneſs, it is immenſe. There are ſome of them to be ſeen of upward of Twenty ſeven foot Diameter: Theſe are Halls, or Chambers, and three or four of theſe Machines would make pretty handſome Apartments; inſomuch that you will admire, *Madam*, to underſtand that in *China* we may Eat, Lye, receive Viſits, repreſent Comedies, and Dance Balls in a Lanthorn.

There would be to enlighten it need of a Bonefire, ſuch as we kindle in one of our Publick Squares; but becauſe it would be inconvenient, they are ſatisfied with an infinite number of Wax Candles or Lamps, which at a Diſtance ſhew very pretty. There is alſo repreſented divers ſhews to gratifie the Vulgar; and there are Perſons concealed, who, by the help of ſeveral little Machines make Puppets to play of the bigneſs of Men and Women, the Actions of which are ſo natural, that even thoſe who are acquainted with the Trick, are apt to be miſtaken: For my part, *Madam*, I was not deceived, becauſe I was never preſent at theſe Spectacles. What I relate is upon the report of the *Chineſes*, and upon the credit of ſome Relations whoſe Authors are well known, and whom I ſhould be loath to condemn.

Beſides theſe prodigious Lanthorns, there are an infinite number of a middle ſize, of which I can more ſafely ſpeak; I have ſeen of them not only neat, but magnificent; they are commonly compoſed of ſix Faces, or Pains, each of which makes a frame of four foot high, a foot and an half broad, of verniſht Wood, and adorned with ſome Gildings. They hang it on the inſide with a Web of fine Tranſparent Silk, whereon is painted, Flowers, Trees, Rocks, and ſometimes Humane Figures. The painting is very curious, the

Colours

Colours lively, and when the Wax Candles are lighted, the Light diſperſeth a Splendor that renders the Work altogether agreeable.

Theſe ſix Pannels joyn'd together compoſe an Hexagone ſurmounted by the Extremities of ſix carved Figures, that make the Crown of it. There is hung round about broad ſtrings of Sattin of all Colours, like Ribonds, together with divers other ſilken Ornaments that fall upon the Angles, without hiding any thing of the Light, or Pictures. We ſometimes uſe them for an Ornament to our Churches. The *Chineſes* hang of them in the Windows, in their Halls, and ſometimes in Publick Places.

The Feaſt of Lanthorns is alſo celebrated by Bonefires that are kindled at that time in all Quarters of the City, and by Fireworks; for there is no body but lets off Squibs and Crackers. Some have ſpoken of theſe as the fineſt Fireworks in the World. There is repreſented (according to them) whole Trees covered with Leaves and Fruit, you may there diſtinguiſh the Cherries, Raiſins, Apples, and Oranges, not only by their Figures, but alſo by their particular Colour, every thing is painted to the Life, inſomuch that one would really imagine that they are naturally Trees that are enlightned in the Night, and not an Artificial Fire, on which they have beſtowed the Figure and Appearance of Trees.

Theſe Deſcriptions that are to be read in ſome Relations of *China*, excite in thoſe who travel thither, a real Paſſion to behold all theſe Miracles; I ſhould have been very glad, as others are, to have upon mine own Perſonal knowledge been able to have related them. I have often ſought for an occaſion, but all in vain. Theſe Fires are not ſo ordinary as People imagine; and to retrieve them, it will perhaps be neceſſary to go back to their time who writ of them. The Father Miſſionaries that ſojourn at *Pekin*, who have been

Eye-witneſſes of what was performed upon this account in the Emperor's Palace, have often told me, that it was not at all as they imagined it to be, and, at the bottom, that there was nothing very extraordinary in it.

Nevertheleſs, *Madam*, it is not juſt wholly to condemn theſe Authors, as Perſons of no Credit, they are good honeſt Miſſionaries, who would not impoſe upon us at pleaſure, and what I have ſeen in *India*, and eſpecially upon the Coaſt of *Coromondel*, may juſtifie them in ſome reſpect; they do there really repreſent all ſort of Figures, not by Artificial Works that burſt in the Air like our Squibs (for to me it ſeems not poſſible to reduce Flame to ſuch determined Figures as would be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh Raiſins, and Leaves, and much leſs to imitate every reſpective Colour that are natural to Fruits) but by means of a combuſtable Matter compounded of Sulphur, Camphire, and ſome other Ingredients, wherewith they dawb pieces of Wood in form of a Croſs, of Trees, and Flowers, or in any other form they pleaſe.

As ſoon as they have given fire to it, that expanded Gum is ſet on fire on all ſides like Coal, and repreſents, till it be totally conſumed, the Figure of the Wood on which it was apply'd; ſo that it is no great wonder that they ſhould make Trees and Fruits of Fire; and I do imagine thoſe they ſo much magnifie in *China*, may be ſome ſuch thing.

Not but that theſe ſorts of Fires have their Beauty; for, beſides their particular Colour, the prettieſt, moſt ſplendid, and withal the moſt pleaſant to the Eye imaginable, it is no mean Ornament in a Publick illumination, to be able to repreſent Men, and Horſes of Fire, Palaces all on fire, with their order of Architecture, Cartouches, and Armories of Light, and a great company of other Repreſentations, that might be made in *Europe* with a great deal more exactneſs than

in

in the *Eaſt*; where the Artificers neither have Ingenuity to contrive great Deſigns, nor Dexterity enough perfectly to Execute them.

Perhaps, *Madam*, you will have the Curoſity to learn what might have given occaſion to the *Chineſes* to ordain ſuch an extravagant Feſtival as this, whereof I have the honour to ſpeak to your Grace. As it is very ancient, ſo the original ſeems very obſcure. The Vulgar aſcribe it to an Accident that happened in the Family of a famous *Mandarin*, whoſe Daughter walking one Evening upon the Banks of a River, fell in, and was drowned; this afflicted Father, with his Family, ran thither, and the better to find her, he cauſed a great Company of Lanthorns to be lighted. All the Inhabitants of the place thronged after him with Torches, they ſearched for her all Night to no purpoſe, and the *Mandarin*'s only Comfort was to ſee the willingneſs and readineſs of the People, every one of which ſeem'd, as if he had loſt his own Siſter, becauſe they lookt upon him as their Father.

The year enſuing they made Fires upon the Shore on the ſame day, they continued the Ceremony every year, every one lighted his Lanthorn, and by degrees it commenc'd into a Cuſtom. The *Chineſes* are pretty Superſtitious in that reſpect; but there is no probability that ſuch a ſmall loſs ſhould have ſuch a lively influence upon a whole Empire.

Some *Chineſe* Doctors pretend that this Feſtival deduceth its Original from a Story which they report in the manner following: Three thouſand five hundred eighty three years ago, *China* was governed by a Prince named *Ki*, the laſt Emperor of the firſt Race, whom Heaven was pleaſed to endue with Qualities capable of conſtituting an Hero, if the love to Women, and the ſpirit of Debauchery, that took poſſeſſion of his heart, had not reduced him to a Monſter in the Empire, and an Object of Abhorrence in Nature.

He

He had rare Parts, a winning, pleasing way with him, great Courage, and of such extraordinary strength of Body, that he broke Iron with his Hand. But this *Sampson* had his Mistresses, and grew weak; amongst other Extravagancies, they relate, that he exhausted all his Treasures in building a Tower of precious Stones to honour the Memory of a Concubine; and that he fill'd a Pool with Wine, for him and Three thousand young Men to bathe in, after a Lascivious manner. These Excesses, and many other Abominations prevailed with the wisest of his Court to offer him some Advice, according to the Custom, but he put them to death; yea, and he imprisoned one of the Kings of the Empire, who endeavoured to divert him from these Disorders: At length he committed a Fact that consummated the Destruction of himself and all his Family.

One day, in the heat of his Debaucheries and Jollity, complaining that Life was too short, *I should be content*, says he to the Queen whom he doted on, *if I could make you eternally happy; but in a few years, nay in a few days peradventure Death will, in spight of us, put an end to our pleasures; and all my Power will not suffice to give you a Life longer than that which the lowest of my Subjects hopes to have; this thought continually troubles my Spirit, and dispenses into my Heart a bitterness that hinders me from relishing the sweetness of Life: Why cannot I make you reign for ever? And seeing there are Stars that never cease shining, must you needs be subject to death? you that shine more bright upon Earth, than all the Stars do in Heaven?*

'Tis true, My Lord, saith this foolish Princess, *that you cannot make your Life eternal, but it depends on you to forget the brevity of it, and to live as tho' you should never die: What need have we of the Sun and Moon to measure the duration of our Life? The morning Star that rises every morning, and the night that comes every evening, do continually*

nually put in us mind of the beginning and end of our days; as thoſe begin and end, ſo do ours that are begun, advance with precipitation, and will ſpeedily be at an end.

Come, come, Sir, let us no longer caſt our Eyes upon theſe Globes that roll over our Heads: Have you a mind once for all to cure your imagination? Build your ſelf a new Heaven, ever enlightened, always ſerene, always favourable to your deſires; where we ſhall perceive not the leaſt footſtep of the inſtability of humane things. You may eaſily do it, by erecting a great and magnificent Palace, ſhut up, on all ſides, from the light of the Sun; you may hang up all around magnificent Lanthorns, whoſe conſtant ſplendor will be preferrable to that of the Sun.

Cauſe to be tranſported thither whatſoever is capable of contributing to your pleaſure; and for fear of being one moment diſtracted by them, break off all correſpondence with other Creatures. We will both of us enter into this new World that you ſhall create: I will be to you in lieu of all things, you alone will there yield me more pleaſure then all the old world can offer; yea, Nature it ſelf, that will be renewed for our ſakes, will render us more happy than the Gods are in Heaven. 'Tis there that we will forget the viciſſitude of days and nights; Time ſhall be no more in reſpect of us; no more incumbrance, no more ſhadow, no more clouds nor change in Life: And provided, My Lord, that you on your part will be always conſtant, always paſſionate, my felicity will ſeem to me unalterable, and your happineſs will be eternal.

The Emperor, whether it was that he thought he could deceive himſelf, or whether he had a mind to pleaſe the Queen, is not certain; but he cauſed this inchanted Caſtle to be built, and there immured her and himſelf. There he paſt ſeveral Months ſteeped in delights, and wholly taken up with his new Life; but the People not being able to endure ſuch Exceſs, obliged one of the wiſeſt Kings of the Empire to declare againſt him.

So

So soon as the Emperor had notice of the Conspiracy, he appeared presently in the old World, which, whether he would or no, stuck more to his heart than the new: He appears at the Head of an Army to punish this Rebel; but seeing himself abandoned by the People, whom he had so foolishly deserted, he thought it his wisest course to abdicate, and betake himself to flight. During the three remaining years of his Life, he wandered from Province to Province *incognito* in a poor Condition, always in danger of being discovered, as if God by his disquietness and continual agitation, had a mind to punish him for that soft and effeminate Repose, wherein he thought to have found constant Delights and eternal Felicity. In the mean time they destroyed his Palaces, and to preserve the Memory of such an unworthy Action to Posterity, they hung up Lanthorns in every quarter of the City, this Custom became Anniversary, and since that time a considerable Festival in the whole Empire; it is solemnized at *Yamtcheou* with more magnificence than any where else: And the report goes that the Illuminations there are so splendid, that an Emperor once not daring openly to leave his Court to go thither, committed himself, with the Queen, and several Princesses of his Family, into the hand of a Magician, who promised him to transport them thither in a trice. He made them in the Night to ascend magnificent Thrones that were born up by Swans, which in a moment arrived at *Yamtcheou*.

The Emperor saw at his leisure all the Solemnity, being carried upon a Cloud, that hovered over the City, and descended by degrees; and came back again with the same speed and Equipage, no body at Court perceiving his absence. This is not the first Fable the *Chineses* have told; they have Stories upon every thing, for they are Superstitious to excess. And in point of Magick, be it feigned or true, there is no

People

People in the World that have come near them.

However it be, certain it is that they take huge delight in Publick Illuminations; and one of their Kings, who for his good qualities was become the darling of the People, once thought he could not better demonſtrate to them his reciprocal Affection, than by inventing for their ſakes ſuch like Feaſts. So that once a year, for eight Nights one after another, he opened his Palace, which they took care to illuminate by abundance of Lanthorns and Fireworks. He appeared in Perſon without any Guards, and was pell mell in the middle of the Croud, not ſuffering them to diſtinguiſh him from others, to the end that every one might enjoy the liberty of ſpeaking, playing, and hearing divers Conſorts of Muſick there performed.

This Action hath rendred this Prince renowned in the *China* Hiſtory; but what would they have ſaid if they had chanced to be in the Apartments of *Verſailles*, where the beſt and moſt potent of Kings ſo often aſſembles all the innocent Pleaſures that Chriſtianity allows, to make his Court, if poſſible, as happy as himſelf; if they did but behold thoſe Illuminations, thoſe Conſorts, thoſe Sports, thoſe magnificent Banquets, and the Prince himſelf ſtriving to mix with the Multitude; nay, and would be unknown, were it not for an Air of Grandeur which is not annext to his Dignity, and whereof he cannot deveſt himſelf, diſtinguiſh him from all the reſt?

Since I am ſpeaking, *Madam*, of the Magnificence of the *Chineſes*, I cannot, without being wanting in a material point, paſs over in ſilence what relates to their Emperors, who never appear in Publick, but as ſo many Deities, environed with all the Splendor that may attract the reſpect and veneration of the People. Heretofore they rarely ſhewed themſelves; but the *Tartars*, who reign at preſent, are much more Popular, and the late King did not ſtand ſo much upon nice Punctilio's.

The

The preſent Emperor in that, as well as in all things elſe, obſerves a Medium, which contents his Nation, without totally diſpleaſing the *Chineſes*. Nevertheleſs, as moderate as he is, in compariſon of the Ancients, one may boldly ſay he never marches but at the head, or in the midſt of an Army.

At ſuch time he is accompanied with all the Lords of the Court: There is nothing but Silks, Gildings, and precious Stones, every thing there is ſplendid and pompous; the Arms, the Horſes Harneſs, the Umbrello's, the Streamers, and a thouſand other Badges of Dignity Royal, or of the particular quality of every Prince, every where ſparkles at that time. In a word, there is nothing more regular on theſe Occurrencies than this Croud; every one knows his reſpective Rank; and the Head of that Man, or at leaſt his Fortune, lyes at ſtake, who ſhall preſume indiſcreetly to diſcompoſe the order of the March.

When he takes a Progreſs to viſit the Provinces of the Empire, he goes commonly Poſt, followed by a few Guards and ſome Officers of his Confidents; but in all the Cities upon the Road, and in all the difficult Paſſages, there are ſo many Troops drawn up into Batalia, that he ſeems to ride Poſt croſs an Army.

He goes ſometimes into *Tartary* to take the divertiſement of Hunting, but yet always accompanied as if he went to the Conqueſt of ſome new Empire. He carries along with him no leſs than Forty thouſand Men, who endure a great deal of hardſhip, whether the Weather be hot or cold, becauſe they encamp in a very inconvenient manner; nay, and it ſometimes happens, that in one of theſe toilſome Huntings their dies more Horſes then he would loſe in a pitch'd Battel; but he counts the Deſtruction of Ten thouſand Horſes as nothing.

The Fathers that accompany him thither ſay, That never does his Magnificence more diſplay it ſelf than upon

upon this occaſion; there he ſees ſometimes thirty or forty petty *Tartarian* Kings, that come to addreſs him, or pay him Tribute; yea, there be ſome of them that bear the name of *Ham* or *Kam*, that is to ſay, Emperor; they are all of them, juſt as the *Mandarins* of the firſt order, his Penſioners; he gives them his Daughters in Marriage; and to make them the more ſure to his Intereſt, he declares himſelf their Protector againſt all the Weſtern *Tartars* who often annoy them; nay, and have ſometimes Forces enough to attack *China* it ſelf with good Succeſs.

Whilſt the Croud of theſe petty Sovereigns appears in the Emperor's Camp, the Court is wonderful ſumptuous: and to the end he may poſſeſs theſe Barbarians with ſome Idea of the Power of *China*, the Train, Habits, and Tents of the *Mandarins*, are rich and glorious, even to exceſs and profuſion. This is what the Miſſionaries, who have been witneſs of the ſame, do report; and I ſuppoſe we may give credit to their Relations, not only becauſe they all unanimouſly agree in this Matter, but alſo becauſe what they ſay does altogether comport with the *Genius* of the *Chineſes*.

That which the Relation of Father *Magalhens* reports, newly tranſlated with Notes, equally learned and inſtructive, concerning the pompous March of the Emperor, when he goes to the Temple to offer Sacrifices to Heaven, hath ſomething odd in it, and deſerves here to be repeated; and ſo much the more, becauſe theſe things can neither be ſuppoſed, nor magnified, for the orders obſerved in Publick Ceremonies is known to every body to be ſo regular, that the very Emperor dares not add or diminiſh the leaſt Article.

This pompous Ceremony begins with Twenty four Trumpets, adorned with Golden Coronets with 24 Drums ranked, each of them into two Files; 24 Men armed with Truncheons verniſht and gilt, 6 or 8 foot long, follow them in the ſame order, and front; after that

that follow 100 Soldiers bearing noble Halbards, armed with a Semicircle of Iron in form of a Creſſant, followed with 100 Serjeants at Mace, and two Officers whoſe Pikes are painted with red Verniſh, in different places with Flowers and golden Figures.

Next after this firſt File is born 400 curiouſly wrought Lanthorns, 400 Flamboys of a gilded Wood that flame like our Torches, 200 Lances charged with huge Tufts of Silk, 24 Banners whereon are painted the Signs of the Zodiak, and 56 others that repreſent the Celeſtial Conſtellations: There is to be ſeen moreover 200 Fans with Figures of Dragons, and other Animals; 24 Umbrello's ſtill more magnificent, and a Livery Cupboard born by the Officers of the Palace, whoſe Utenſils are of Gold.

All this does immediately precede the Emperor, who at laſt appears on Horsback, glorioufly attired, ſurrounded with ſix white led Horſes, whoſe Harneſs is covered with Gold and precious Stones, with 100 Life-guard and Pages of Honour; they bear up before him an Umbrello that ſhades him and the Horſe, and dazles the Sight with all the Ornaments that Man could poſſibly invent to enrich it.

The Emperor is followed by all the Princes of the Blood, by the *Mandarins* of the firſt order, by the Viceroys and principal Lords of the Court, all in their Formalities: Immediately after is ſeen 500 young Gentlemen of Quality, which may be called the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, attended by 1000 Footmen, array'd in Carnation Silk, bordered with Flowers, ſtitched with little Stars in Gold and Silver. This is properly the King's Houſhold.

This Retinue is ſtill more extraordinary by what follows, then by what went before: For immediately 36 Men bear an open Sedan that reſembles a Triumphant Chair, 120 Bearers ſupport another cloſe one, and ſo big that one would take it for an intire Apartment.

Apartment. Afterwards there appear four Chariots, the two firſt of which are drawn by Elephants, and the other two by Horſes. Each Sedan and Chariot hath a Company of 50 Men for its Guard: The Charioteers are richly apparelled, and the Elephants as well as the Horſes, are covered with embroidered Houſings.

At length this proud Cavalcade is brought up in the Rear by 2000 *Mandarin* Officers, and 2000 Officers of the Army, all moſt richly cloathed, marching in order, and according to their Cuſtom, with that Gravity that commands reſpect. It is not needful that the Court ſhould be at great Charges for this Pomp; and as ſoon as ever the Emperor is pleaſed to go offer Sacrifice, they always are in readineſs to attend him in this order. I do not know, if in our Carouſels and Solemn Feſtivals, we have any thing more ſplendid and magnificent.

But the King of *China* never appears greater, then when he gives Audience to foreign Ambaſſadors; that prodigious number of Troops who are at that time in Arms, that incredible number of *Mandarins* in their Formalities, diſtinguiſhed according to their rank and quality, placed in order without confuſion, without noiſe, without imbaraſment, in ſuch order as they would appear in the Temples of their Gods; the Miniſters of State, the Lord Chief Juſtices of all the Sovereign Courts, the petty Kings, the Princes of the Blood, the Heirs of the Crown, more humbled before this Prince, then they are exalted above the People: The Emperor himſelf ſeated on a Throne, who beholds proſtrate at his feet all this Crowd of Adorers; all this, I ſay, bears an Air of Sovereignty and Grandeur in it, that is to be found no where but in *China*, which Chriſtian Humility does not ſo much as permit Kings to deſire in the moſt glorious Courts of *Europe*.

I ſhould never make an end, if I had a mind to de-

ſcend to all the particulars of the Publick Ceremonies, where the *Chineſes* diſplay all their Magnificence; I ſuppoſe, *Madam*, I have ſpoken enough to inform you with a juſt Idea of it; now if you pleaſe to permit me, in the cloſe of this Letter, to add what I think of it my ſelf in reference to *France*, where the Riches and Ambition of private Perſons have carried ſtateliness to an higher pitch, than in any other Realm in *Europe*; It ſeems to me that the *Chineſes* do almoſt ever ſurpaſs us in Common and Publick Actions, by a more affected and ſpecious outſide; but, that in Domeſtick Things, our Apartments are incomparably richer, the Retinue of Perſons of Quality more decently clothed, tho' not ſo numerous, the Equipages more commodious, the Tables better ſerved, and generally ſpeaking, the Expence more conſtant, and better regulated. I am with a moſt profound reſpect,

Madam,

Your moſt humble

and moſt obedient Servant

L. J.

LET-

LETTER VII.

To the Archbiſhop of Rheims, *firſt Peer of* France.

Of the Language, Characters, Books, and Morality of the Chineſes.

My Lord,

AFter having had the Honour to entertain your Grace at your ſpare hours, concerning the different Properties of the Empire of *China*, I believed you would not take it amiſs to ſee from me in writing that which relates to their Language, Characters, Books, and Morals.

There are certain Points of Hiſtory that one cannot enter upon without much preparation, and eſpecially when one is to explain them to ſuch a Perſon as your ſelf, whoſe particular Character it is, to know to the bottom, and with the greateſt exactneſs, whatſoever you do know; there is required an exactneſs, and a certain order, which is ſcarce ever met with but in writing.

I well know, *My Lord*, that it is difficult to add, upon this Subject, any new Knowledge to that which hath rendered you one of the moſt knowing Prelates of the Age; how good and diffuſive ſoever the Morality

of *China* may be, yet are there but faint Glimpſes in it of a circumſcribed Reaſon, that diſappear, as ſoon as they are brought near thoſe Divine Lights that Religion diſcovers to us, and whereinto you have ſo long dived by the continual reading of Fathers, Canons, and Councils.

Nevertheleſs, altho' all the Philoſophy of that renowned Nation be not able to inſtruct us, yet is it worth our enquiry to know, To what pitch of Perfection it heretofore brought Sciences, and that too at a time when other People in the World were either ignorant or barbarous; and to begin at their Tongue and Character, which among them contain the chief Points of Literature, this is what I have obſerved of them.

The *Chineſe* Language hath no Analogy with any of thoſe that are in vogue in the World, no Affinity neither in the Sound, in the pronunciation of the Words, nor yet in the diſpoſing and ranging of the Conceptions. Every thing is myſterious in this Language, and you will, no queſtion ſtand amazed, *My Lord*, to underſtand, that all the terms of it may be learnt in two hours, altho' there is required ſeveral years ſtudy to ſpeak it, that one may be able to read all the Books, and to underſtand them perfectly, without apprehending any thing, if another read it; that a Doctor may compoſe a Book with all the elaborateneſs poſſible, and this very ſame Doctor may not know enough of it to explain himſelf in ordinary Converſation. That a Mute inſtructed in the Characters, might with his fingers, without writing, ſpeak almoſt as faſt as is neceſſary, not to weary the Auditors. In a word, that the ſelf ſame words do often ſignifie quite different things, and of two Perſons that ſhall pronounce them, it will be a Complement in the Mouth of the one, and foul Language in the Mouth of the other. Theſe Paradoxes, how ſurpriſing ſoever,

they

A List of all the Words that form the Chinese *Tongue.*

ca	car	cam	can	cao	co	cou	coue coum	cha	chay	cham	chan	chao	che
chin	chéou	chi	chiao	chim	chin	cho	choa	chou	chouan	choué	chou	choun	choum
fa	fam	fan	feou	fi	fo	foe	foi	fou	fouen	foum	guei	hai	ham
han	hao	he	hem	hen	heou	hi	hia	hiai	hiam	hiao	hie	hien	hieou
him	hin	hio	hiu	hué	hiuen	hioum	hiun	ho	hao	hoai	hoam	hoan	hé
hoei	hoen	hou	houm	houon	y	ya	yai	yam	iao	ie	ien	ieou	in
in	io	iu	ué	iuen	ium	iun	ke	kem	ken	keou	ki	kia	kiao
kie	kien	kieou	kim	kin	kio	kiu	kué	kieuen	kioum	kiun	la	lai	lam
lan	lao	le	leam	leao	lem	leou	lh	li	lie	lien	heou	lim	lin
lio	liu	lo	lou	loui	loum	louan	louon	lun	ma	mai	mam	man	miao
miau	me	mem	men	meou	mi	miao	mié	mien	mim	min	mo	mou	mouen
mouï	mouin	mouon	na	nai	nam	nan	nao	nem	ngai	ngan	ngao	nguê	nguén
ngeou	nio	ni	niam	niau	niao	ni	nien	nieou	nio	nim	niu	no	nou
noui	noum	nouen	nun	o,ou	pa	pai	pam	pan	pao	pe	peou	pi	piao
pié	pien	pim	pin	po	poi	pou	pouen	poum	pouen	qua	quoué	quoui	quouan
quouei	quouen	qouo	qouon	fa	fai	fam	fan	fao	fé	fem	fen	feou	fi
fiam	fiao	fié	fien	fieou	fin	fin	fio	fiou	fiuc	fiuen	fiun	fo	fou
fiu	foui	fu	foum	fun	fouon	ta	tai	tam	tan	tao	te	tei	teou
ti	tiao	tie	tien	tieou	tim	to	tou	touï	toum	tun	touon	tia	tiai
tiam	tian	tiao	tié	tiem	tiéou	tit	thame	thao	thié	thien	thieou	thin	tfin
tho	thu	thuè	thuen	thoum	thou	tfo	tfou	tfu	tiui	tfoum	tfun	tfouon	tcha
tchai	tcham	tchan	tchao	tché	tchien	tcheou	tchi	tchim	tchin	tcho	tchoua	tchouam	tchu
tchoua	tchouen	tchouè	tchoun	tchun	ua	va	vai	vam	van	ven	ve	vi	vo
von	vou	voum oum	326.										

Place this between *Fol.* 180 and 181.

they may ſeem, are very true notwithſtanding; and your Grace will grant it, if you pleaſe to give your ſelf never ſo little trouble to caſt your Eyes upon that which I have to write to you about it.

This Tongue contains no more than Three hundred and thirty words, or thereabouts, all of one Syllable, or at leaſt they ſeem to be ſo, becauſe they pronounce them ſo ſuccinctly, that a Man can ſcarce diſtinguiſh more than one: Altho' it be a tedious thing to read the whole Series of them, yet ſhall I deſcribe them in this place, as well to let you underſtand the Tone, as to give you the Satisfaction to ſee, at one Glance of your Eyes, compriſed in one ſingle Page, a Language ſo ancient, ſo famous, and I may ſay, ſo eloquent as this is.

Theſe few words would not be ſufficient to expreſs a Man's ſelf roundly upon all Subjects, to ſupply words to Arts and Sciences, to maintain Eloquence in a Diſcourſe, or in a Work, which is very different among the *Chineſes*, if he had not found out the Art to multiply the Senſe, without multiplying the Words. This Art chiefly conſiſts in the Accents they give them; the ſame word pronounced with a ſtronger or weaker inflexion of the voice, hath divers ſignifications; ſo that the *Chineſe* Language, when it is ſpoken exactly, is a kind of Muſick, and contains a real Harmony, which compoſeth the Eſſence and particular Character of it.

There are five Tones that are apply'd to each word, according to the Senſe one means to give it. The firſt is an uniform Pronunciation without lightning or falling the Voice, as if one ſhould continue for ſome time the firſt Note of our Muſick: the ſecond raiſeth the Voice notably higher: the third is very acute: in the fourth you deſcend all on the ſudden to a grave Tone: in the fifth you paſs to a more deep Note, if I may preſume

ſo to expreſs my ſelf, by hollowing, and framing a kind of Baſe. A Man cannot make himſelf be underſtood in this Matter but by the Language it ſelf.

However you already ſee, *My Lord*, that by this diverſity of Pronounciation of 333 words, are made 1665. beſides that, one may pronounce ſmoothly, or aſperate each word, which is very uſual, and does ſtill increaſe the Language by half. Sometimes theſe Monoſyllables are joyned together, as we put our Letters together, thereby to compoſe different words: Nay, they do more then all that, for ſometimes a whole Phraſe, according as it follows, or goes before another, hath a quite different ſenſe; ſo it plainly appears that this Tongue, ſo poor, ſo ſeemingly ſuccinct, yet for all that is in effect very rich and extenſive, to expreſs a Man's ſelf.

But theſe Riches coſt Foreigners dear to come by them; and I cannot tell whether ſome Miſſionaries had not better have labour'd in the Mines than to have apply'd themſelves for ſeveral years to this Labour, one of the hardeſt and moſt diſcouraging that one can experience in matter of ſtudy. I cannot apprehend how any one can have other thoughts; and I muſt confeſs I admired to read the new Relation of Father *Magalhen*, that the *Chineſe* Language is eaſier than the *Greek*, *Latin*, and all the Languages in *Europe*. He adds, one cannot doubt of it, if it be conſidered that the difficulty in Tongues proceeds from the Memory; now one hath no trouble at all in this, that hath but very few words in compariſon of others, nay, and may be learnt in a days time.

To argue as this Father does, Muſick muſt coſt us but an hours time, ſeven Words, and ſeven Tones, do not much burthen the memory, and if one have but a Voice never ſo little flexible, one would think it were no hard matter to learn them; nevertheleſs, we ſee by daily experience, whoſo begins at thirty or forty years, unleſs

unleſs he have a more than ordinary inclination for Muſick, ſcarce ever learns it to purpoſe; nay, and after much application, and long exerciſe, is ſtill to his dying day but a pitiful Muſician. How will it fare with a Perſon who hath ſix Tones to combine with above 300 Words, that he does not know by the writing, which he muſt call to mind *ex tempore*, when he would ſpeak fluently, or when he is to diſtinguiſh in another perſon that precipates his words, and who ſcarce obſerves the Accent and particular Tone of each word?

It is not the Memory that is put to a ſtreſs upon this occaſion, but the Imagination and Ear, which in ſome certain Perſons never diſtinguiſh one Tone from another; the turn of the Tongue alſo conduces infinitely thereto; and there are certain Perſons that have Memory ſufficient to learn a Book in few days, who will tug at it for a Month together to pronounce only one word, and all to no purpoſe: How happens it that, let him take what care he will, a Man has never a good Accent in our Language, when he is born in certain Provinces, and when he departs from them when he is well ſtricken in years.

Nevertheleſs, to make your ſelf underſtood in *Chineſe*, you muſt give to each word its peculiar Accent; vary but never ſo little, and you fall into another Tone that makes a ridiculous Counter-ſenſe; ſo that one would call *Him* a *Beaſt*, whom he intends to call *Sir*, becauſe the word that is common to them both, hath not a different Senſe, but only by the different Tone they give it: So that it is properly in this Language that one may ſay, the Tone is all in all.

This is that alſo that makes the *Chineſe* Tongue more difficult than others. When a Stranger that hath but a ſmattering, intends to ſpeak *French*, if he pronounce ſome words but never ſo little well, we eaſily gueſs at thoſe he ſpeaks ill, and we know his meaning; but in

China one single word badly pronounced, is enough to render the whole Phrase unintelligible; and one Phrase at the beginning that is not well heard and understood, hinders the understanding of what follows. So when one chances to come into a Congregation, where they have already begun to speak about some Business, he stares about a good while, without understanding, till such time as by degrees they put him in the way, and till he gets hold of the thread of the Discourse.

Besides what I have been saying, this Tongue hath particular Characters that distinguish it from all others. First of all they do not speak as they write, and the most quaint Discourse is barbarous, harsh and unpleasant when printed. It is necessary to write well, to make use of more select Terms, more noble Expressions, more particular Turns, that do occur in common practice, which are proper to the composing of Books, the stile of which is more different from the common Elocution, then our obscurest Latin Poets are from the smoothest and most natural Prose.

Secondly, Eloquence does not consist in a certain disposition of Periods, such as Orators affect, who, to impose upon the Auditors, stuff it sometimes with a parcel of words, because they have but few things to tell them. The *Chineses* are eloquent by their lively Expressions, noble Metaphors, bold and succinct Comparisons, and above all, by abundance of Sentences and Passages taken from the Ancients, which amongst them are of great moment: they deliver a great many things in a few words, their Stile is close and mysterious, obscure, and not continued, they seldome make use of all those Particles that illustrate, and connect our Discourse. They seem sometimes to speak not to be understood, or, as tho' they pretend that a Body may understand them, even when they do not speak, so much sense, and thought, do they include in a few words.

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It is true, this obſcurity almoſt quite vaniſhes in reſpect of thoſe who have a perfect knowledge in the Characters; and a Learned Man that reads a Work, is ſeldom miſtaken in it, but in ſpeaking one is often at a ſtand: And I have converſt with ſome Doctors, who to underſtand one another in familiar Diſcourſes, were obliged to deſcribe with their Finger, in the Air the particular Letter that expreſt their words, whoſe Senſe could not be determined by the Pronunciation.

Thirdly, The Sound of the words is pretty pleaſing to the Ear, eſpecially in the Province of *Nankin*, where the Accent is more correct than in any other part; for there many pronounce the different Tones ſo fine and delicately, that a Stranger hath much ado to perceive it. Beſides, they never uſe *R*, which contributes not a little to mollifie that Language; yet muſt it be allowed that moſt part of the *Chineſes*, that pretend to ſpeak correctly, have ſomething of unpleaſant in the Language, they drawl out their words in length intollerably; and tho' they be all Monſyllables, yet by meer extending them, they make words infinite and like to intire Phraſes.

They have moreover a Termination which often occurs, which we expreſs commonly by a double *ll*; the ſound comes from the bottom of the *aſpera arteria*, ſo uncouth and unnatural, that it alone is capable of ſpoiling a Language: But as certain forc'd Aſpirations in the *Caſtillian* Tongue, do notwithſtanding pleaſe the *Spaniards*; ſo the *Chineſes* are perſwaded that theſe ſame Gutturals that diſpleaſe us, are a real grace; and that theſe more Maſculine and ſtronger Tones, gives a body to their Language, without which it would be apt to degenerate into a Puerile delicateneſs, which would at beſt have no grace but in the Mouth of Women and Children.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, They want abundance of Sounds which we expreſs by our Letters; for Example, they do not pronounce *A, b, d, o, r, x, z,* after the ſame manner as we do in *France*; and when any one forces them to pronounce them, they always make ſome alteration, and uſe ſounds, that in their Language comes the neareſt to them, never being able almoſt to expreſs them exactly. That formerly was a great difficulty for the *Chineſe* Prieſts in Conſecrating the Hoſt, who could not ſay Maſs in *Latin* without falling into a ridiculous jargon. Yet there was ſo much pains taken to frame their Tongue, that at length they have ſucceeded to admiration: So that the *Latin* in their mouth is not much more different from *that* of the *Portugueſe*, than *that* of the *Portugueſe* is from ours.

All that I have been ſaying, *My Lord*, is to be underſtood of the *Mandarin* Language that is currant all over the Empire, which is univerſally underſtood every where; for the common People at *Fokien* beſides that, ſpeak a particular Tongue, that hath no affinity with the ſame, who look upon it in *China*, as we do upon the *Biſcay* Language, or *Basbreton* in *France*.

What relates to the *China* Character is no leſs ſingular than their Tongue; they have not any Alphabet as we have, that contains the Elements, and as it were the Principles of Words; nay, they cannot ſo much as comprehend, how we are able, with ſo ſmall a number of Figures, each of which ſignifies nothing, to expreſs upon a piece of Paper all our Conceptions, to compoſe ſuch an infinite number of Books, as to ſtock whole Libraries. This Art of putting Letters together, to compoſe words of them, to combine them both into a prodigious number of Senſes, is to them an hidden Myſtery, and that which is ſo common amongſt other Nations, never obtained amongſt them, either thro' the little Converſe they have had with other neighbour Nations, or thro' the ſmall account they made of Foreign Inventions.

Inſtead

Inſtead of Characters, at the beginning of their Monarchy they uſed Hieroglyphicks; they painted inſtead of writing; and by the natural Images of things, which they drew upon Paper, they endeavoured to expreſs, and convey their Idea's to others; ſo that to write a Bird, they painted its Figure; and to ſignifie a Foreſt, they repreſented a great company of Trees; a Circle ſignified the Sun, and a Creſcent the Moon.

This ſort of writing was not only imperfect, but very inconvenient; for beſides that one expreſt his Thoughts but by halves, even thoſe few that were expreſt, were never perfectly conceived, and it was beſides utterly impoſſible not to be miſtaken: Moreover, there needed whole Volumes to expreſs a few things, becauſe the painting took up a great deal of room. Inſomuch that the *Chineſes* by little and little changed their writing, and compoſed more ſimple Figures, tho' leſs natural; they likewiſe invented many to expreſs ſome things that painting could not repreſent, as the Voice, Smell, the Senſes, Conceptions, Paſſions, and a thouſand other Objects that have neither Body nor Figure; of ſeveral ſimple Draughts, they after made compound ones; and at this rate they multiplied their Characters *ad infinitum*, becauſe they deſtined one or more of them for each particular word.

This abundance of Letters is in my opinion the ſource of the *Chineſes* ignorance, becauſe they imploy all their days in this ſtudy, and have not leiſure ſo much as to think of other Sciences, phanſying themſelves learned enough if they can but read. However, they are far from underſtanding all their Letters: It is very much, if after ſeveral years of indefatigable ſtudy, they be able to underſtand fifteen or twenty thouſand. The vulgar ſort of the Learned, content themſelves with leſs: and I cannot believe that there was ever any Doctor that underſtood the third part;

part; for they reckon upward of Twenty four thou-ſand.

As for Strangers, it is ſcarce credible how much this ſtudy diſguſts them; it is an heavy Croſs to be forc'd all a Man's life long (for commonly it is not too long for it) to ſtuff his Head with this horrible multitude of Figures, and to be always occupied in deciphering imperfect Hieroglyphicks, that have in a manner no analogy with the things they ſignifie, there is not the leaſt Charm in this, as in the Sciences of *Europe*, which, in fatiguing, do not ceaſe to captivate the Spirit with Delight. It is neceſſary in *China*, that a Man may not be diſcouraged, to ſeek out more ſublime Motives, in defect of natural Inclination; to make a Vertue of a Neceſſity, and to pleaſe ones ſelf to think, that this ſtudy, how crabbed and ingrateful ſoever it ſeems, is not ſterile, becauſe it is a ſure way to bring Men to the Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt.

It is that way whereby we make our ſelves underſtood by great ones; whereby we inſinuate our ſelves into their Spirits, and thereby prepare them for the grand Truths of Chriſtian Religion; there is not that Perſon to whom this hope of preaching the Goſpel ſucceſsfully, does not incourage, and inſpirit. We cannot alſo doubt, but that our bleſſed Lord may accompany the Effects of our good Will, with a particular Bleſſing; and it is more than probable, that if it had not been for the Aſſiſtance from above, the Miſſionaries would never have been ſo great Proficients, as to make ſuch a progreſs that has aſtoniſht the ableſt Doctors of the Empire.

Amongſt theſe Characters there are ſome of divers ſorts. The firſt are almoſt out of uſe, and they preſerve them only out of Veneration to Antiquity. The ſecond not ſo ancient by far, take place only in Publick Inſcriptions; when there is occaſion for them, they conſult Books, and by the help of a Dictionary

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it is eaſie to decipher them. The third much more regular and fair, ſerve for the impreſſion, and alſo for the ordinary writing: Nevertheleſs, the ſtrokes or draughts of them being very exact and curious, there needs a conſiderable time to write them in. And for that reaſon they have contrived a fourth kind of writing, the ſtrokes whereof being more joyned, and leſs diſtinguiſht one from another, facilitate the writing faſter; for that reaſon they are called *voluble Letters:* Theſe three laſt Characters do much reſemble one another, and do anſwer to our Capital Letters, to the printed Letters, and ordinary Writing.

Inſtead of a Pen they uſe a Pencil held in the hand, not obliquely, as our Painters, but directly, as if the Paper were to be prickt. The *Chineſes* always write from top to bottom, and begin their firſt Letter where ours ends; ſo that to read their Books, the laſt page muſt firſt be ſought for, which with them is the beginning: There Paper being very thin, and almoſt tranſparent, they are fain to double it, for fear leaſt the Letters do run one into another when they write on the backſide: But theſe doubled Leaves are ſo even, that one can hardly perceive it.

To write a bad Hand, was never in *China*, as formerly in *France*, a ſign of Nobility; every Body is ambitious to write fair; and before one ſtands Candidate to be admitted to the firſt degree of Learning, he muſt give a Specimen of his fair Hand. A Letter ill cut in a Compoſition, in a Work, in a Petition, is a conſiderable fault; and becauſe one ſtroke often alters the whole Senſe, there needs no more to make one, upon examination, to loſe the Degree of Doctor, and conſequently to ruin his Fortune. So that all the *Mandarins* write fair, and the Emperor excels in that, as in all other things.

Printing

Printing, which is but an Art in its infancy in *Europe*, hath been, from all Antiquity in use in *China*; however it is something different from ours; as we have but few Letters, from which we can compose huge Volumes, by putting them together, few Characters suffice, because those that have served for the first Leaf, are still employed for all the others. The prodigeous number of *China* Characters hinder you from using this way, except only in some Restrictions that concern the Palace, and Title pages, into which few Letters can come in: On all other occasions, they find it more easie to Engrave their Letters upon Wooden Boards, and the Charge is much less.

This is the way they go to work. He who intends to print a Book, gets it fair written over by a Master Scribe, the Engraver glews each Leaf upon an even smooth Table, and then the Draughts with the Graving Tool are done so exactly, that the Characters have a perfect resemblance with the Original; so that the Impression is good or bad, according as a good or bad Scribe hath been employed; this Skill of the Gravers is so great, that one cannot distinguish that which is imprinted, from what was written by the Hand, when they have made use of the same Paper and Ink.

It must be confest that this sort of Printing is somewhat incommodious, inasmuch as the Boards must be multiplied as much as the Leaves, so that an indifferent big Chamber will not suffice to contain all the little Tables, that served for the Impression of a large Volume; yet when the engraving is finisht, one is not obliged at the same time to draw off all the Copies, by running a venture of not selling above half, and ruin his Estate by a needless Charge. The *Chineses* print their Leaves according as they put them off; and the Wooden Plates, which they easily run over again, after they have drawn off Two or Three hundred

Copies,

Copies, ſerve for many other different Impreſſions. Beſides that, they have no occaſion for a Corrector of the Preſs; for provided that the Leaf be exactly written, it is very rare that the Engraver makes any Faults, which is none of the leaſt Advantages.

The Paper of *China* ſeems ſo fine, that they imagined in *France* that it was of Silk, or Cotton; but Cotton is not ſo proper for that purpoſe as People imagine; and the Artificers have aſſured me, that the little threads of Silk cannot be beat ſmall enough to compoſe an uniform Paſte, ſuch as is requiſite for the Leaves. All the *China* Paper is made of the Bark, or inward Rhind of *Bambou*; it is a Tree, more even, thicker, ſtraiter, and ſtronger than the Elder: They throw away the firſt Rhind, as too hard and thick; the undermoſt, as being whiter, ſofter, pounded with fair Water, ſerves for the Matter whereof they compoſe Paper, which they take up with Frames or Moulds, as long and broad as they think fit, as we do here: There are Leaves of ten and twelve foot long; and the Paper of the Leaves is as white, and much more even and ſmoother than ours.

Inſtead of Glew, they paſs Alom upon it, which does not only hinder it from ſinking, but renders it alſo ſo ſhining, that it appears as waſht over with Silver, or impregnate with Verniſh: It is extream ſmooth under the Pen, but eſpecially under the Pencil, that requires an even Ground; for if it be rugged and knotty, like our Paper, the little threads ſeparate, and the Letters are never well terminated.

Yet for all that the *China* Paper is not laſting, it is ſubject to fret; any Moiſture or Duſt ſticks to it; and by reaſon of its being made of the Bark of a Tree, Worms infallibly breed in it, if care be not taken to beat the Books now and then, and expoſe them to the Sun. So that they cannot preſerve in *China*, as we do in *Europe*, ancient Manuſcripts; and they con-

continually renew the Libraries, that are therefore ancient, becauſe they conſiſt of Authentick Copies of Ancient Originals.

Since I have told your Grace all things that concern the Books and Printings of *China*, I hope you will not take it amiſs, if I ſpeak a word or two concerning the particular quality of their Ink: It is moſt excellent; and they have hitherto vainly tried in *France* to imitate it; *that* of *Nankin* is moſt ſet by: And there be Sticks made of it ſo very curious, and of ſuch a ſweet Scent, that one would be tempted to keep ſome of them tho' they ſhould be of no uſe at all.

I ſay Sticks of Ink, for it is not a Liquor like ours; it is ſolid, and reſembles our Mineral Colours, tho' lighter by far: They make it into all Figures; the more uſual are four-ſquare, but not ſo broad as long; about half an Inch thick. There are ſome of them gilded with Figures of Dragons, Birds, and Flowers; they contrive for that purpoſe pretty Moulds of Wood ſo curiouſly wrought, that one would have much ado to make any thing more compleat upon Metal.

When one has a mind to write, they have a little poliſht Marble upon the Table, made hollow at the end, proper to hold water; they infuſe one end of the ſtick therein, which they rub gently upon the ſmooth part of the Marble; and in a moment, according as they rub, there is produced a Liquor, more or leſs black, wherein they dip the point of the Pencil to write with. This Ink is ſhining, extream black, and altho' it ſinks when the Paper is ſo fine, yet does it never extend further than the Pencil, ſo that the Letters are exactly terminated, how groſs ſoever the ſtrokes be.

It hath moreover another quality, that makes it admirable good for deſigning, that is, it admits of all the Diminutions one can give it; and there are many things that cannot be repreſented to the Life without uſing this Colour. In a word, it is not ſo difficult to be made as People imagine; altho' the *Chineſes* uſe Lamb-black, drawn from divers Matters, yet the beſt is made of Hogs-greaſe burnt in a Lamp: They mix a ſort of Oil with it, to make it ſweeter, and pleaſant Odours to ſuppreſs the ill ſmell of the Greaſe and Oil. After having reduc'd it to a Conſiſtence, they make of the Paſte little Lozenges, which they caſt in a Mould; it is at firſt very heavy, but when it is very hard, it is not ſo weighty by half, and that which they give for a Pound, weighs not above eight or ten Ounces.

The binding of Books in *China* is likewiſe very pretty and curious, tho' it comes much ſhort of ours. They don't gild upon the Edges, nor ſo much as colour them. The ordinary Books are covered with a grey Paſtboard, handſom enough. They bind others according as they pleaſe; in a fine Sattin, or a kind of flowered Taffity, that is very cheap, and is commonly made on purpoſe for this uſe. I have ſeen ſome covered with rich Silk, flowered with Gold and Silver; the Form is always the ſame, but they are at Coſt, according to the Matter they are willing to employ. I ſhould never have preſumed, *My Lord*, to take the liberty to ſet down all theſe minute Circumſtances, if I were not perſwaded, that a little Account is not always diſagreable to Learned Men, who, like you, are acquainted beforehand with the moſt eſſential Matters. Hence I preſent you with ſomething more ſolid, which, without doubt, you may have read; but I add it in this place briefly, only to refreſh your memory.

The first History that was in the World, was, without all Controversie the Book of *Genesis*; but it must be granted, that of all the Books that have reached our knowledge, those of *China* are the first that have been published: They name them by way of Excellence, *The five Volumes*; and the *Chineses* hold nothing more Sacred than the Doctrine therein taught. It is about Four thousand three hundred years since the Emperour *Hoamti*, after he had invented the Characters, composed Treaties of Astronomy, Arithmetick, and Medicine.

Near upon Three hundred years after, they made a Collection of all the Ordinances, and writ the History of King *Yao*, a Prince recommendable for his Piety, Prudence, and the mighty Care he took to establish a Model of Government in the State. *Chun* and *Isu* his Successors, were no less famous; they regulated the Ceremonies of the Sacrifice, that they were bound to offer to the Supream Master of Heaven, and to the inferiour Spirits that presided over Rivers and Mountains; they divided the Empire into Provinces; they fixt their different Situation with respect to the Constellations of Heaven; they regulated the Taxes that the People were to pay; they made several other Constitutions very wholsome and proper for introducing good Manners, and very necessary for the Publick Quiet. All these things were written; and whatever these three Emperors have left behind them to Posterity, hath been always considered by the *Chineses* as Oracles.

Nevertheless, being the first Laws never comprehend all things, the Emperors who reigned a Thousand seven hundred seventy six years before our Saviour, upon mature deliberation, and by the Counsel and Advice of their Sage Ministers, thought themselves obliged to make an Addition of new ones. They report that *Cootson*, a Prince, in whom Piety

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and Zeal in Religion, did infinitely inhance the Noble qualities he had received from Nature, ſaw in a Dream the Figure of a Man coming from Heaven. After he was awake, the Image remained ſo lively engraven upon his Mind, that he cauſed him to be ſought for, and found him at length amongſt the Maſons. So ſoon as this Man apply'd himſelf to the Government, he ſeemed to be inſpired, and made ſeveral beneficial Regulations, that perfected the ancient Ordinances, which were again augmented under ſucceeding Reigns; inſomuch that being all collected together, there was a Book compoſed of them which the *Chineſe* call *Chukim*, which amongſt them is of as great Authority, in reference to the Politick State, as *Moſes* and the Prophets are amongſt the Jews, as to what concerns the Worſhip of God, and Form of Religion.

* The firſt Book called *Chu-kim.*

The Second Book, which the *Chineſes* reverence for its Antiquity, is a long Continuation and Series of Odes, and Poems compoſed under the Reigns of the third Race †. Where are deſcribed the Manners and Cuſtoms of the petty Kings of *China*, who governed the Provinces in dependance upon the Emperor. *Confucius* mentions them with great Elogiums; which makes us incline to judge that in proceſs of time they had been corrupted by a mixture of ſeveral bad Pieces; there are ſome ſuch found in them very ridiculous, not to ſay impious. *Fohi*, Founder of the Monarchy, compoſed before that time Poems of that Nature, but they were ſo obſcure, that what care ſoever they took to put a good Conſtruction on them, yet have they been fain to confeſs that they were not intelligible. This Obſcurity, ſo impenitrable by all the Lights of the Learned, hath given occaſion to many Superſtitions.

† The ſecond Book *Chi-kim.*

The *Bonze's* wreſt them to a wrong uſe, that they may ſay what they pleaſe; they are in reſpect of them an inexhauſtible Fountain of Fables and Chimera's, which they make uſe of, for to cauſe the People to pin their Faith upon their Sleeve. However, they have compiled a * Tome of them, which holds the third Rank amongſt Claſſick Authors.

* The third Book *U-kim.*

† The Fourth *Tchun-tſiou.*

The † Fourth contains the Hiſtory of ſeveral Princes, their Vertues, Vices, and Maxims of the Government, that have been collected by *Confucius*, and Commented upon by his Diſciples.

|| The fifth *Li-ki.*

The || Fifth treats of Cuſtoms and Ceremonies. There is mention made of Temples, Sacred Veſſels; of the Duty of Chilren to their Parents, and Wives to their Husbands; Rules of real Friendſhip, Civilities at Feaſts; of Hoſpitality, Muſick, War; of Funeral Honours, and of a thouſand other things that regard Society.

Theſe five Books are very ancient, and all the others that have any Authority in the Empire are nothing but Copies, or Interpretations of them. Amongſt abundance of Authors, who have taken pains about theſe ſo famous Originals, none is ſo conſpicuous and eminent as *Confucius*; they have a great eſteem, eſpecially of that which he compiled in four Books, upon the ancient Laws, which are lookt upon as the Rule of Perfect Government. There he treats of the grand Art of Reigning, of Mediocrity, Vertues and Vices, of the Nature of Things, and of common Duties. This laſt Tome notwithſtanding, is not ſo much the Work of *Confucius*, as of *Mencius* his Diſciple, of a Life leſs regular than that of his Maſter, but of a Stile more eloquent and pleaſant.

Beſides

Beſides theſe Nine Books, there be ſome others much in vogue, as the Univerſal Hiſtory of the Empire, the truth of which is no leſs confirmed in *China*, than it is in our moſt noted Hiſtories in *Europe*. The Books that treat of the Education of Children, of Obedience, of Loyalty, are aſcribed to *Confucius*. Some of them may be met with that Diſcourſe of Medicine, Agriculture, Plants, of the Military Art, of Arts Liberal and Mechanick, of particular Hiſtories, Aſtronomy, Phyloſophy, and a great many other Parts of Mathematicks. In ſhort, they have their Romances, Comedies, and what I place in the ſame rank, a plain, abundance of Treaties compoſed by the *Bonze's*, concerning the Worſhip of the Deities of the Country, which they alter, diminiſh, and increaſe, according as they find it neceſſary to inveigle the People, and ſwell their Revenues.

Of all theſe Books they have compiled numerous Libraries, ſome whereof were compoſed of above Forty thouſand Volumes; but all theſe brave Works that Antiquity took ſo much pains to bring forth, which private Perſons had amaſſed with ſo vaſt Expences, were well-nigh all deſtroy'd by the Tyrannical order of one Emperor. Three hundred years, or thereabouts, after the Death of *Confucius*, that is to ſay, Two hundred years before the Birth of our Saviour Chriſt, the Emperor *Chihoamti*, illuſtrious by his Valour and Military Science, of which he was Maſter beyond all his Predeceſſors; and ſtill more conſpicuous by the prodigious Wall he cauſed to be built, to ſecure his Territories from the Irruptions of the *Tartars*, reſolved to extirpate all Sciences; and not ſatisfied with putting a great number of Doctors to death, he ordered his Subjects upon pain of death, to ſet fire on all the Books in the Empire, except thoſe that treated of Agriculture, Medicine, and Sorcery.

This Conflagration, the moſt remarkable that ever the Republick of Letters ſuffered, was like to have utterly ruined the Empire, and would have made in time, of the moſt polite and accompliſht State, the moſt barbarous and ignorant Kingdom in the World, if after the Tyrant's death, the Love of Sciences, that began to Revive in all Men's Breaſts, had not in ſome meaſure repaired this loſs.

The old Men, who according to cuſtom had, during their youth, learnt almoſt all theſe Books by heart, received order to write them faithfully over: They found ſome of them in the Tombs, that the moſt zealous had concealed, to which they gave a Reſurrection, by publiſhing them in another Edition. Some of them they fetched from the Graves, and Holes of Walls, that indeed ſuffered great Damage by Moiſture and Worms, however, in a Condition to ſerve their turns that laboured after their Reſtoration, what was defaced in theſe latter, being pretty intire in ſome others.

All this Care did not hinder the new Edition to be defective; there remains in ſome places *Lacuna's*, and there hath been inſerted into others, ſome Pieces by the by that were not in the Originals. The *Chineſes* themſelves take notice of theſe Faults, and of ſome others of leſs moment; but they are ſo Superſtitious in preſerving what was handed down to them from Antiquity, that they even pay Reverence to its Faults.

I ſhould not, *My Lord*, afford you a Light diffuſive enough into the *Chineſe* Literature, ſhould I not ſpeak more particularly of *Confucius*, who makes the principle Ornament of it. He is the moſt pure Source of their Doctrine; he is their Philoſopher, their Lawgiver, their Oracle; and albeit he was never King, one may nevertheleſs avouch, that during his Life, he hath governed a great part of *China*, and that he hath had

had ſince his death a greater ſhare then any one in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of State, by the Maxims that he hath promulgated, and the fair Examples that he hath exhibited; ſo that he is ſtill the Model of all honeſt Men: His Life hath been writ by ſeveral Perſons: I ſhall report what they commonly ſay of it.

Confucius, whom the *Chineſes* name *Coum-tſe*, was born in the Province of *Chauton*, the Thirty ſeventh year of the Reign of the Emperor *Kim*, Four hundred fourſcore and three years before the Incarnation of our Saviour; the Death of his Father that preceded his Birth, made them call him *Tceſſe*, which ſignifies *Child of Sorrow*; he derived his Pedigree from *Tiny*, Twenty ſeventh Emperor of the Second Race: How illuſtrious ſoever this Family might be by a long *Series* of Kings, it became much more ſo by the Life of this great Man: He eclipſed all his Anceſtors, but he gave his Poſterity a luſtre that ſtill continues, after more than Two thouſand years. *China* acknowledges no true Nobility but in this Family, equally reſpected by Sovereigns, who have derived from thence, as from the Source the Laws of Perfect Government, and beloved by the People, to whoſe Happineſs he hath ſo ſucceſsfully contributed.

Confucius did not proceed by the ordinary degrees of Childhood, he ſeem'd Rational a great deal ſooner than other Men; for he took delight in nothing that other Children are fond of: Playing, going abroad, Amuſements proper to his Age, did not at all concern him; he had a grave, a ſerious Deportment, that gained him reſpect, and was at that very time a Preſage of what one day he was like to be: But that which diſtinguiſheth him the moſt, was his Exemplary and Unbiaſſed Piety. He honoured his Relations; he endeavoured in all things to imitate his Grandfather, who lived in *China* all that time, and whoſe

Memory was precious for his Sanctity: And it was observable that he never eat any thing but he prostrated himself upon the Ground, and offered it to the Supream Lord of Heaven.

Being yet a Child he heard his Grandfather fetch a deep Sigh, he came up to him, and when he had saluted him, bowing several times to the very ground, *May I be so bold,* says he, *without losing the respect I owe you, to ask you the occasion of your Grief? Perhaps you are afraid that your Posterity may neglect the Care of Vertue, and may dishonour you by their Vice. What put this Thought into your head?* says *Coum-tse* to him, *and where have you learnt to speak after this manner? From you your self,* replyed *Confucius; I attentively hear you every time you speak, and I have often heard you say, that a Son, who by his manner of living does not keep up the Reputation of his Ancestors, degenerates from them, and does not deserve to bear their Name. When you spoke after that manner, did not you think of me? and might not that be the thing that troubles you?* This good old Man was overjoy'd at this Discourse, and after that seemed not to be disquieted.

Confucius, after his Grandfathers death, was a constant adherer to *Tcem-se,* a famous Doctor of those times; and under the Conduct of so great a Master, he became in a short time a considerable Proficient in the Knowledge of Antiquity, which he lookt upon, even there, as the most perfect Model. This Love for the Ancients had like one day to have cost him his Life, tho' he was then but Sixteen years of Age: For discoursing with a Person of the highest quality, who spoke of the obscurity and unprofitableness of the *Chinese* Books, this Child read him somewhat too severe a Lecture concerning the respect that is due to them

The Books you speak of, says *Confucius, contain profound Doctrine, the Sense of which is not to be penetrated but by*

the

the Learned: the People would undervalue them, could they comprehend them of themſelves. This dependance of Spirits, by which the more Stupid are ſubject to the more enlightened is very profitable, and uſeful in Humane Society: Were all Families equally rich, equally powerful, there would remain no form of Government: But there would happen yet a more ſtrange diſorder, if Men were equally knowing, every one would be a governing, and no body would believe himſelf obliged to obey.

Some time ago, added this witty Child, *one of the Skum of the Vulgar ſpoke to me as you do, I did not wonder at it; but I admire at preſent that a Doctor, as you are, ſhould ſpeak to me like this Man of the Dregs of the People.* This Diſcourſe was capable to gain the affection and reſpect of the *Mandarin:* But Confuſion that poſſeſt him to be thus gravelled by a Child, did ſo nettle him, that he reſolved to be revenged. He cauſed his Houſe to be inveſted by his Menial Servants, and, without doubt, he would have flowen out into ſome Extremity, had not the King, who had notice of it, given him order to withdraw.

When *Confucius* was a little more advanced in years, he made a Collection of the moſt excellent Maxims of the Ancients, which he intended to follow, and inſpire into the People. Each Province was at that time a diſtinct Kingdom, that a Prince, who depended upon the Emperor, governed by particular Laws: He levied Taxes, diſpoſed of all Places of Truſt, and made Peace as he judged expedient. Theſe petty Kings had ſometimes Differences amongſt them; the Emperor himſelf ſtood in fear of them; and had not always Authority enough to make himſelf be obey'd by them.

Confucius being perſwaded that the People would never be happy, ſo long as Intereſt, Ambition, and falſe Policy ſhould reign in all theſe Petty Courts; reſolved to preach up a ſevere Morality, to prevail upon

upon Men to contemn Riches and worldly Pleaſures, and eſteem Temperance, Juſtice, and other Vertues; to inſpire them with Grandeur and Magnanimity proof againſt all Humane Reſpects, a Sincerity incapable of the leaſt diſguiſe, even in reſpect of the greateſt Princes; in fine, a kind of Life that ſhould oppoſe the Paſſions, and ſhould intirely cultivate Reaſon and Vertue.

That which is moſt to be admired is, That he preached more by his Examples, than by his Words; ſo that he every where reapt very conſiderable Fruit of his Labours. Kings were governed by his Counſels, the People reverenced him as a Saint; every Body commended him; and even thoſe who did not comply to follow his Examples, did nevertheleſs admire them: but ſometimes he took upon him ſuch a Severity, that made his very Friend have an averſion for him.

Being choſen to fill a conſiderable Place of Truſt in the Kingdom of *Lou*, in leſs than Three Months time, after he exerciſed the Charge, he introduced ſuch a prodigious Change, that the Court and Provinces were quite another thing than they were before. The neighbouring Princes began to be jealous; they perceived that a King ruled by a Man of this Character, would quickly render himſelf too powerful, there being nothing that can be more capable to make a State flouriſh than Order, and an exact obſervance of Laws. The King of *Tci* aſſembled his Miniſters, and propounded to them an Expedient to put a ſtop to the Cariere of this new Government: After a long deliberation, this was the Expedient they bethought themſelves of.

They choſe a great Company of young Maids, handſome, well educated, and perfectly well inſtructed in whatſoever might pleaſe. Then, under pretence of an Embaſſy, they preſented them to the King

King of *Lou*, and to the principal Officers of his Court; the Preſent was joyfully accepted, and obtained its deſired effect. They thought of nothing but of divertiſing the fair Strangers; for ſeveral Months together there was nothing but Feaſting, Dancing, and Comedies, and Pleaſures was the whole Buſineſs of the Court.

Confucius perceiving that the Publick Affairs would ſuffer by it, endeavoured to bring Men to themſelves again; but this new kind of Life had ſo charmed them, that all his endeavours proved ineffectual: there was no remedy, the Severity of the Philoſopher, whether he would or no, muſt give place to the Gallantry and Irregularities of Courtiers. So that he thought it did not ſtand with his Reputation to remain any longer in a place where Reaſon was not liſtened to, and ſo he reſigned up his place to the Prince; and ſought other Kingdoms more inclinable to improve his Maxims.

But he met with great Obſtacles, and run from Province to Province almoſt, without reaping any advantage; becauſe the Politicians dreaded him, and the Miniſters of Princes had no mind to have a Competitor, that was in a capacity to leſſen their Authority, or deprive them of their Credit. So that forſaken by all the World, he was often times reduced to utmoſt Extremity, in danger of being ſtarved, or to loſe his Life by the Conſpiracy of miſchievous Men. Nevertheleſs, all theſe Diſgraces did not move him; and he would often ſay, *That the Cauſe he defended was too good, to apprehend any evil Conſequences from it; That there was not that Man ſo powerful, that could hurt him; and that when a Man is elevated to Heaven by a ſincere deſire of Perfection, he is ſo far from fearing a Tempeſt, that he did not ſo much as hear the noiſe in this lower World.*

So

So that he was never weary of instructing those who loved Vertue. Amongst a great Company of Disciples that put themselves under his Tuition, he destined some to write a fair hand, others apply'd themselves to argue exactly, and to deliver themselves eloquently in Publick. He would have others to study to frame to themselves a true Idea of a good Government: But he counselled those for whom he had a more particular kindness to govern themselves well, to cultivate their Mind by Meditation, and to purifie their heart by Vertue.

Humane Nature, said he often to others, *came from Heaven to us most pure and perfect, in process of time Ignorance, the Passions, and evil Examples have corrupted it; all consists in the re-instating it, and giving it its primitive Beauty: and that we may be perfect, we must re-ascend to that point from whence we have descended. Obey Heaven, and follow all the Orders of him who governs it. Love your Neighbour as your self; never suffer your Senses to be the Rule of your Conduct, but hearken to Reason in all things: It will instruct you to think well, to speak discretely, and to perform all your Actions holily.* He sent Six hundred of his Disciples into different places of the Empire, to reform the Manners of the People; and not satisfied to benefit his own Country, he often took a Resolution to pass the Seas, and extend his Doctrine to the Extremity of the Universe. There is scarce any thing can be added either to his Zeal, or to the purity of his Morality, they were so Superlative. Methinks he sometimes speaks like a Doctor of the New Law; rather than like a Man that was brought up in the Corruption of the Law of Nature: and that which perswades me that Hypocrisie had no share in what he said, is, That his Actions never bely'd his Maxims. In fine, his Gravity and Mildness in the Use of the World, his rigorous Abstinence, (for he past for the sobereſt Man of the Empire) his Contempt

tempt of the Good Things of the World, that continual Attention and Watchfulneſs over his Actions, and then, what we find not amongſt the Sages of Antiquity, his Humility and Modeſty would make a Man apt to judge that he was not a meer Philoſopher formed by Reaſon, but a Man inſpired by God for the Reformation of this New World.

The *Chineſes* report that he had frequently this ſaying in his Mouth, *It is in the Weſt where the True Saint is found:* And this Sentence was ſo imprinted upon the Spirit of the Learned, that Sixty five years after the Birth of our Saviour, the Emperor *Mimti* touched with theſe words, and determined by the Image of a Man that appeared to him in a Dream coming from the *Weſt*, ſent Ambaſſadors that way, with ſtrict order to continue their Journey till they ſhould meet the Saint whom Heaven had acquainted him with.

It was much about the ſame time that St. *Thomas* preached the Chriſtian Faith in the *Indies*; now if theſe *Mandarins* had followed his Orders, peradventure *China* might have received benefit from the Preaching of this Apoſtle. But the danger of the Sea, that they feared, made them ſtop at the firſt Iſland, where they found the Idol *Fo*, or *Foe*, who had corrupted the *Indies* ſeveral years before with his damnable Doctrine: They learnt the Superſtitions of the Country; and at their return propagated Idolatry and Atheiſm in all the Empire.

Confucius lived ſecretly Three years, but ſpent the latter end of his days in Sorrow, in ſeeing the Wickedneſs that reigned amongſt the People. He has been often heard to ſay, *The Mountain is fallen, and an high Machine was deſtroyed*; to denote that the grand Edifice of Perfection, that he had Erected with ſo much Care in all the Realms, was as good as overthrown. *Kings*, ſaid he, one day during his laſt Sickneſs, *do*

not

not follow my Maxims; I do no good in the World, ſo it is time I ſhould depart out of it. At that very Moment he fell into a Lethargy, that continued Seven days, at the end of which he gave up the Ghoſt in the Embraces of his Diſciples.

He was Lamented by the whole Empire, that from that very time honoured him as a Saint, and influenced Poſterity with a Veneration of him, which in all probability will never have an end but with the World. Kings have built Palaces for him after his death in all the Provinces, whither the Learned at certain times go to pay him Honours. There is to be ſeen in ſeveral places, theſe Titles of Honour writ in huge Characters, *To the great Maſter, to the head Doctor, to the Saint; to him who taught Emperors and Kings.* However, what is very extraordinary, never did the *Chineſes* Deifie him; they, I ſay, who have given the quality of God, or as they ſpeak, the quality of pure Spirits to many *Mandarins*, not ſo eminent as he; as if Heaven, that had given him Birth for the Reformation of Manners, was unwilling that ſuch a well-ordered Life, ſhould, after his death, adminiſter occaſion of Superſtition and Idolatry.

They preſerve to this day in *China* Anticks that repreſent him to the Life, and pretty well agree with what Hiſtory hath left us concerning him. He was no handſom Man; he had moreover upon his Forehead a Swelling, or a kind of Wen, that disfigured him, which he made others often to take notice of to humble him. As for the reſt, his Stature was ſo comely and proportionable, his Behaviour ſo grave, his Voice ſo ſtrong and ſhrill, that if he was but never ſo little pathetical, one could not chooſe but be affected, and hear him with reſpect. But the Maxims of Morality he hath ſcattered here and there in his Works; or which his Diſciples took care to collect, draw a much more lively and advantagious Pourtraiture

traiture of his Soul. There would need an entire Volume to relate them all. Here are ſome of them that came to my knowledge, that I have taken out of a Book compoſed by one of the principle *Mandarins* of the Empire, who Rules at preſent in *Pekin*.

Maxim I.

Beauty is not to be deſired by a wiſe Man.

Confucius going to ſee the King of a Province, he found him with his Favourite that was a Lord wonderful handſome. The King, ſo ſoon as he ſaw him come in, ſaid to him ſmiling, *Confucius, if thy Countenance could be changed, I would willingly give you all the Beauty of this young Courtier.* *Sir,* anſwered the Philoſopher, *that is not the thing I wiſh; the exterior form of a Man is of little uſe to the Publick Good. What do you deſire then,* ſaid the Prince? *I deſire, My Lord,* ſays he, *in all the Members of the Empire that juſt Symetry that makes up the Beauty of the Government, and hinders the Body of the State to be deformed.*

Maxim II.

A Man muſt confine himſelf, if he means to be happy.

So ſoon as he underſtood that his Mother was dead, he came into his Country to pay his laſt Devoirs to her, he wept for her bitterly, and ſpent three days without eating; that was perhaps too much, yet

a Philoſopher of that Country thought it not enough. *As for me,* ſays he, *I have been ſeven days without takeing Suſtenance, upon the death of my Relations; and you, who are Grandſon to a Saint, on whom all the World caſts their Eyes to ſee how you will imitate him, you have ſatisfied your ſelf with three days Abſtinence.* Confucius anſwered him, *The Ceremonies have been regulated by the Ancients to reſtrain the indiſcreet, and ſtir up the backward. It is our duty to be obedient to the Laws, if we would not go aſtray: It is in this golden mean, that Wiſdom, and the wiſe Man reſide? that you may never ſtray out of it. Remember that Vertue is not an exceſs, and that Perfection hath its limits.*

Maxim III.

A Man ought to change often, if he would be conſtant in Wiſdom.

A Perſon of Quality ſaid one day to *Confucius, Your Grandfather was never wanting in any duty of Civility in reſpect of great Perſons; nevertheleſs his Doctrine, tho' holy, never obtain'd, or got footing: How do you imagine then that yours ſhould be followed, ſeeing you have a Magiſterial Gravity that repulſes Men, and proceeds ſometimes to haughtineſs? This is not the way to be welcome at Princes Courts. Every Age hath its ways,* anſwered *Confucius, in my Grandfather's time Princes and Officers were poliſht; they delighted in order, every one kept his Station; to inſinuate a Man's ſelf in their Affections, it behoved a Man to be poliſht, and regular like them. At this day Men value nothing but Courage and Haughtineſs, wherewith Princes endeavour to inſpire their Officers; a Man ought to change with the World, that he may be in a capacity*

capacity to win it : A wiſe man would ceaſe ſo to be, ſhould he always act as the wiſe men of former times acted.

Maxim IV.

The Grandees of a Kingdom are not always the great Men of the State.

Confucius coming to the Court of one of the Kings of *China*, was very well received. This Prince allowed him an Apartment in his Palace, and came to viſit him there himſelf: At the end of the Viſit, he ſaid to him, *You come not for nothing into my State; probably you have a deſign to do me ſome good, My Lord,* replyed *Confucius. I am but an unprofitable Man, yet I avow if your Majeſty will but follow my Counſel, you will not be the worſe for it. My intent is to preſent to you wiſe Men, to occupy the principle places of your State. Withal my heart,* ſays the Prince, *Who are they? My Lord,* Li-in, *the Son of a Husband-man is a Man on whom you may rely.* The King burſt out a laughing; *How,* ſays he, *an Husband-man? I have not Employments enough for the Lords of my Court, and would you have me take a Labourer into my Service.*

The Philoſopher, without being moved, replyed; *Vertue is of all Trades and Conditions, although it is more commonly annext to a mean Condition: We have two Kingdoms in the Empire that have been founded by two Labourers* *. *What Inconvenience is there, tho' a Man of that Character govern yours? Believe me, Sir, the Court hath hitherto ſupply'd you with a good Company of evil Miniſters: Suffer a Country Village to preſent you with a wiſe Man. You want Employments,*

* *Tcheou-coum,* and *Cham-tcho.*

ments, you ſay, to place all the Lords that encompaſs you. If Vertue alone were rewarded, you would find in your Court more places than Officers ; nay , and perhaps would be fain to call for Labourers to ſupply them. When the Body of the Nobility does not furniſh the State with great Men, the great Men that may be found amongſt the People muſt be choſen, and of them muſt be compoſed the Body of the Nobility.

Maxim V.

A ſmall Fault often denotes great qualities.

He one day adviſed the King of *Ouei* to ſet a certain Officer of Reputation at the Head of his Army ; but the King excuſed himſelf for not doing it, becauſe that being formerly a *Mandarin*, he took a couple of Eggs from a Country Fellow. *A Man who hath abuſed his Authority*, ſays he, *deſerves not any longer to command. Theſe Sentiments of Equity* , replyed *Confucius*, *are very laudable in a King ; but perhaps the* Mandarins *Moderation, that ſtole but two Eggs, is no leſs to be admired. Such a ſmall fault in the whole Life of a Man denotes in him great qualities : In a word, a prudent Prince makes uſe of his Subjects in the Government, as a Carpenter uſes Timber in his Works, he does not reject one good Beam, becauſe there is a flaw in it , provided it be ſtrong enough to ſupport a whole Edifice : I would not adviſe your Majeſty, for the loſs of a couple of Eggs , to turn off a Captain, who may conquer you two Realms.*

Maxim

Maxim VI.

The Prince is void of Counſel who hath too much Wit, and when he delivers his Opinion the firſt.

The ſame King one day held a Counſel in preſence of *Confucius*, where he ſpoke of ſome Affairs with ſo much vehemence of Spirit, that his Miniſters applauded him, and forthwith allowed him to be in the right, and comply'd with him without more ado. At the cloſe, this King ſaid to *Confucius*; *What's your Judgment of the courſe we have taken in our laſt Deliberation? Sir*, ſays the Philoſopher, *I do not perceive that they have yet deliberated; you ſpoke with a great deal of Wit; your Miniſters very attentive to pleaſe you, have faithfully repeated the Diſcourſe; they have told your Opinion, and not their own; and when you adjourned the Aſſembly, I ſtill expected the beginning of the Counſel.*

Some days after the ſame King asked him his Advice concerning the preſent Government. He anſwered him; *No body ſpeaks ill of it. That is my deſire*, ſays the King. *And that, Sir, is what you ought not to deſire*, reply'd *Confucius: A ſick Perſon forſaken, whom they flatter that he is well, is not far from death: a Man is bound to diſcover to the Prince the defects of the Mind, with the ſame liberty Men diſcover to him the maladies of the Body.*

Maxim VII.

The wise Man goes forward apace, because the right way is always the shortest; on the contrary, the crafty Politician arrives later at his end, because he walks in By-ways and crooked Paths.

The King of *Ouei* confessed to *Confucius*, That there was nothing so fine as Wisdom; but the difficulty of acquiring it, discouraged the most Courageous, and diverted the best disposed Minds. *As for my part*, added he, *I have used endeavours, but all in vain; I am resolved to torment my self no longer about it, and a small parcel of Policy will supply the defect of that Wisdom that is necessary to good Governing.* Sir, answered *Confucius*, *'tis true, Wisdom is seated on a lofty Place, but the Road to it is not so impracticable as People imagine, it grows plainer and plainer, according as you go on; and once got at it, one cannot go back without running great danger to fall down the Precipice; in such a sort, that a wise Man cannot cease being so, without doing violence to himself in some respect.*

But do you think that a Prince hath no trouble when he marches in the indirect Paths of a too Artificial and Knavish Policy? All these Refinements and Subtilties perplex the Spirit: But which is the way to unravel all these Intrigues? None ingages in a Labyrinth without fear; oftentimes a man loseth himself therein; and when one gets out, it is after a great many wandrings, and miss-

sing

ſing the way, that diſquiets the Mind. Take you which way you pleaſe; as for me, Sir, I am perſwaded that in a Popular Government, ſolid and conſtant Vertue goes farther than the moſt ſubtle and refined Policy.

Maxim VIII.

Thoſe who deſire the moſt perfect State, do not always ſearch the Perfection of the State, but the Sweetneſs. Would you be fixt in the World? let this ſink into your Mind, That to take up a new Courſe of Life, is nothing elſe but to paſs from one Trouble to another.

The Son of a King being wrought upon by the Life that *Confucius* lead, perceived thoſe firſt deſires of Wiſdom to ſpring up in his heart, that a good Education, and good Examples are wont to infuſe into young Perſons, when they have not been yet corrupted by the Commerce of the World. He went to find him out, and told him, That *he was reſolved to abandon all things for to become one of his Diſciples; for, the truth is, there are a thouſand Sorrows to be undergone in that Courſe of Life, wherein my Birth engageth me; whereas yours ſeems to me full of Sweetneſs and Delight.*

Since 'tis the Sweetneſs you look for in my ſtate, anſwered *Confucius, I ſhould not adviſe you to enter upon it: A Man often times meets with Trouble, the more he avoids it. Heaven hath inſpired me with the love of a*

Private Life, hath been pleaſed to make you to be born to Rule. Be a King, and do not ſeek after Peace too much: On the contrary, If you be not willing to loſe your States, wage an advantageous War with your Enemies; but fight more couragiouſly againſt your Paſſions, and againſt being in love with a ſweet and eaſie Life, if you have not a mind to deſtroy your ſelf.

Maxim IX.

Thoſe who are diligent, and would do all, put off many things till the next day.

His own Son ſaid to him one day, *I carefully apply my ſelf to all ſorts of ſtudy, I omit nothing whereby to become a good Scholar, and yet I make ſmall progreſs.* This wiſe Father ſaid to him, *Omit ſomething, and you will make a great progreſs. Amongſt all thoſe that take long Journeys afoot, did you ever ſee one of them that ran? In all things one muſt go orderly to work, and not deſire to embrace that which is not for the length of his Arms; otherwiſe you will give your ſelf unprofitable motions. The Saints have firſt of all apply'd themſelves to the moſt eaſie things; Succeſs gave them courage and ſtrength to grapple with more difficult things, by little and little they became perfect.* Thoſe, who like you, would do all in one day, do nothing all their Life: On the other hand, thoſe who never apply themſelves but to one thing, find at the long run that they have done all.

Maxim

Maxim X.

One ought not to wonder that the wiſe Man walks ſlower in the Way of Vertue, than the ill Man does in that *of Vice; Paſſion hurries, and Wiſdom guides.*

One of his Friends complained of the ſmall progreſs he made in Vertue; *I labour,* ſaid he, *theſe ſeveral years to imitate the Primitive Saints, and I am ſtill imperfect. Had I but never ſo little applyed my ſelf to imitate the Wicked, and follow their Example, I ſhould have rid a great deal of Ground in a ſhort ſpace: Why is it not ſo eaſie to attain to Perfection, as to abandon ones ſelf to Vice?*

This is no wonder, ſays *Confucius, Vertue is on high, and Vice is in the loweſt place. It requires pains and time to go upward, one Minute ſufficeth to fall down the Precipice. However, let me intreat you not to let your ſelf be abuſed by this ſeeming eaſineſs. It is true, that one is ſooner determined to evil than to good; but ſeeing one repents of it at length, it is a certain ſign that there is leſs trouble to do well, than to perſevere in evil.*

Maxim XI.

True Nobility does not conſiſt in Blood, but in Merit; we are of an elevated Station indeed, when Vertue prevents our groveling with the reſt of Mankind.

Confucius ſeeing a Man carry a Fiſh, ſighed, and told them who demanded the Reaſon of it; *This Fiſh,*

that might have eaſily preſerved its life, hath loſt it notwithſtanding, for letting it ſelf be allured by the pleaſures of a deceitful Bait. The want of Reaſon pleads for its greedineſs; but are Men excuſable for to loſe Vertue that is much more precious than Life, in letting themſelves be catched by the Baits that the Good Things and Vanity of the World preſents them with? If one knew, what he lookt after, he would take another Road to find it. Would you be rich? contemn every thing, nay, even the Contempt and Scorn Men caſt upon you: That Man is raiſed to a pitch far above others, when Calumny and Reproaches cannot reach him.

Maxim XII.

In the ſtate wherein we are, Perſeverance in well-doing conſiſts not *ſo much in not falling, as to riſe again as often as we fall.*

You are very happy, Confucius, ſays ſome *Mandarins* that he inſtructed, *for having arrived at the higheſt degree of Vertue; It is a long time, I'le warrant you, ſince you left ſin: As for us, what Efforts ſoever we make to become good Men, there paſſes not a day but we commit conſiderable Faults. Although every fault be blameable,* ſays *Confucius, you are not ſo unhappy as you think in committing many: your Life, as well as mine, is a long Journey; the way is difficult, and our Reaſon half extinct by Paſſions, furniſhes but little Light to guide us: What means is there to avoid ſtumbling ſometimes in the dark? When one gets up again, the fall retards our Journey, but does not quite put it off and interrupt it. It would be an unhappineſs for us, to commit no more but one, like the wicked that fall but once, becauſe the firſt Precipice ſtops them; but honeſt good Men that continue their walking, fall often.*

Maxim

Maxim XIII.

There is not that Man living but hides half of his Faults; however, as much flattered as he is, he would bluſh to appear to the Eyes of others, what he appears to himſelf.

One complained one day, *That Nature in beſtowing two Eyes upon Men to behold the Beauty of Bodies, had beſtowed none on them that are able to ſee Minds, and diſcover the Secrets of Hearts: Thus Vertue and Vice, ſay they, are confounded in the World.*

Confucius ſaid, *you and I ſhould be in a woful taking, if we were not cut ſhort as to that matter, for we ſhould not ſecure our own Failings and Weakneſſes, we gain more by it than you are aware of; for I maintain that the Philoſopher would ſuffer more to appear weak, than the wicked Man to appear vicious.*

Maxim XIV.

Never ſpeak of your ſelf to others, neither good nor bad; not good, becauſe they will not believe you; not evil, becauſe they know more already than you would have them.

Thus he ſpoke one day to his Diſciples, who took a pride ever and anon to blame themſelves: To which he added,

For

For a Man to confeſs his Faults, when he is reproved for them, is Modeſty.

To lay them open to his Friend, is Ingenuity, is Confidence.

To reprove himſelf for them, is Humility.

But to go preach them to every body, is, if one have not a great care, a piece of Pride.

By this Scantling of *Confucius* his Philoſophy you may judge, *My Lord*, that Reaſon is of all Times, and of all Places. *Seneca* hath ſpoken nothing better; and had I the leiſure, as I have a Deſign to make an intire Collection of the Maxims of our Philoſopher, peradventure there might be whatſoever might be requiſite to give him a place amongſt our Sages of Antiquity. I wiſh at leaſt, *My Lord*, that the Pourtraiture I have offered, may not diſpleaſe you: were he ſtill alive at this day, as much a Philoſopher as he is, I am ſure he would be ſenſible of the Approbation you ſhould afford him. Such a Teſtimony as yours, always clear, always ſincere, muſt needs do a kindneſs to the greateſt Men. Perhaps hitherto in *France* they have not a due Eſtimate of the *Idea* all the *Eaſt* have of him, but ſo ſoon as you ſhall pleaſe to honour him with your Eſteem, every Body will be perſwaded that Antiquity hath not flattered him, and that *China*, in chuſing him for a Maſter and a Doctor, hath done Juſtice to his Merit. I am with a moſt profound reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble

and moſt obedient Servant

L. J.

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LETTER VIII.

To my Lord Philipeaux *Secretary of State.*

Of the particular Character of the Wit and Temper of the Chineſes.

My Lord,

IF in this Letter, which I have the honour to write to you, I confine my ſelf to what relates to the particular Character and *Genius* of the *Chineſes*, it is not but that I know the Obligation wherein I ſtand, to give you an exact Account of all the other Things we are acquainted with in our Voyages; yet I ſuppoſed that I could not more fitly begin to diſcharge this Duty, than by entertaining you, at the firſt ſight, with that which naturally ought to be more pleaſant to you; a Captain would more willingly hear a Diſcourſe of Wars, and of the Bravery of the *Tartars*, and a Courtier of the Gentility of the *Chineſes*; but when a Man has ſuch extraordinary Parts as you have, and is Heir to a Family that hath always ſignalized it ſelf by its inſight into Sciences, and penetration in the management of the moſt important Affairs, I was apt to believe that one

one could not treat of a Subject that can be more proper, and more delightful to you.

Of all the People of the habitable World, there is not any one that does not ſtand upon Wit and Ingenuity, and oftentimes the moſt barbarous prefer themſelves before the moſt polite and accompliſht. The Inhabitants of the *Cape of Good Hope*, whom we cannot repreſent to our ſelves, but with a kind of horrour, whom we can ſcarce give our ſelves leave to rank amongſt Men, do nevertheleſs look upon the *Europeans* as Slaves, and look upon the *Hollanders* as no other than a Company of ſtupid Fellows, not verſt in the method of Government. The People of *Siam*, whoſe Phyſiognomy is well enough known in *France*, who have, in reſpect of the *Indies*, Souls adapted to their Bodies, do uſually ſay, That Heaven, in diſtributing its Benefits and Natural Qualities, hath granted to the *French* the Bravery and Science of War; to the *Engliſh* the Art of Navigation; to the *Hollanders* a particular knack in Trading; to the *Chineſes* the Wiſdom of Well-governing, but that it hath given Wit to the People of *Siam*. Had not they intimated it to us, perhaps we ſhould not have made ſuch a Reflection, and it is a Diſcovery that we owe to them. After all this, we muſt not wonder if the *Chineſes*, who term all the People of the *Eaſt* blind, have reſerved to themſelves the Preheminence, and have believed themſelves to be, without all diſpute, the moſt intelligent Nation in the World.

There is no queſtion to be made but they are an ingenious People, but methinks no Body yet hath been truly acquainted with their Character. To ſee their Libraries, Univerſities, the prodigious number of their Doctors, their Obſervatories, and the care they take to be exact in their Obſervations, one would be apt to conclude, That this Nation is not only

only ingenious, but perfectly well verſt in all ſorts of Sciences, that they have a vaſt reach, invention, and a *genius* for every thing. Nevertheleſs, albeit for theſe Four thouſand years, they have allowed Recompences to learned and expert Men; and tho' the Fortune of an infinite number of Men depends upon their good Parts, yet have they not had one ſingle Man, of great Atchievements in Speculative Science: They have detected all theſe precious Mines, without ever ſeeking for them themſelves: Enjoying peaceably for ſo many Ages, the Reputation of the moſt Knowing Men in the World, becauſe they ſee no Body more Ignorant than themſelves.

So that I ſuppoſe I may ſafely aver, without offering them any Injury, That amongſt the Qualities wherewith Heaven hath reſpectively inriched the People of the World, they have not ſhewed that Spirit of Penetration and Nicety, ſo neceſſary to thoſe who addict themſelves to the re-ſearch of Nature. That Logick which we have ſo much improved, that Geometry that we in *France* have brought to ſuch a high degree of Perfection, which may paſs for the Maſter-piece of Humane Underſtanding, will never get admittance into their Academies; and maugre all the Natural Pride that poſſeſſes them, they will not ſtick to confeſs, That as to theſe Matters, the *Europeans* will in all Humane probability be their Maſters.

It is true a Philoſophy they have; it is likewiſe true that they lay down certain Principles for the explaining the Compoſition of Bodies, their Propriety, their Effects. Neither are they altogether ignorant in Anatomy; nay, they grant a Circulation of the Blood and Humours; but all their Notions are ſo general, confuſed, and generally ſo falſe, that I am afraid in this place to particularize them.

Their

Their Arithmetick is more perfect, altho' they do not make use of the Cypher, as we do, which is notwithstanding a great help. They do not practise the Rules of Arithmetick by Calculation; but they use an Instrument composed of a little Board a Foot and an half long, cross which they score Ten or Twelve little parallel Lines, or Sticks, upon which are strung several moveable Buttons, by putting them together, or by separating them one from another, they reckon, almost as we do, by Counters; but with such great dexterity and easiness, that they will keep pace with a Man, let him read a Book of Accompts never so fast. At the end they find the Operation performed, and want not a certain way to prove it.

Their Geometry is very Superficial, it is restrained to a very few Propositions, and to some Problems of *Algebra*, which they resolve without Elements or Principles, and that only by Induction.

They pretend to be the Inventers of Musick, and to have heretofore carried it to its *Acme* of Perfection: But either they are mistaken, or they have quite lost it; for that they practice at this day is so imperfect, that it does not so much as deserve the Name of Musick.

As for Astronomy, it must be confest that never did People in the World addict themselves so constantly to it. This Science is beholding to them for abundance of Observations; but the History that reports them in general, hath not been careful to descend to particulars, which would be necessary for the reaping all the benefit such Elucubrations seem to promise. However, it hath not been unprofitable to Posterity. We have above Four hundred Observations, as well of the Eclipses and Comets, as Conjunctions, that make good their Chronology, and may conduce to the perfecting of ours.

Altho'

Altho' their Tables were imperfect, yet have they been very ſerviceable to regulate the Time; but after a certain continuance of years, their Aſtronomers were obliged to make ſome Amendments therein, becauſe they did not exactly agree with the Heavens till the beginning of this Century, that they attained ſome Skill in our Aſtronomy. The *Europeans* ſince have every way reformed their Kalender, which Buſineſs has made them ſo famous, and ſo neceſſary in that State, that nothing hath ſo much contributed to ſettle Religion in that Country, and alſo to defend it in the various Circumſtances of Perſecution it hath lain under.

If *China* hath been deficient in excellent Mathematicians; they have at leaſt had perfect Aſtrologers; becauſe for the well ſucceeding in judicious Aſtrology, it ſufficeth to be an able Deceiver, and to have a knack of Lying handſomly, which no Nation can diſpute with *China*. There have been for this many Ages cheating Mountabanks by Profeſſion, who promiſe, by the inſight they have in the Motion and Influence of the Stars, the Philoſophers Stone, and Immortality, they mark in the Almanack every year, the good and bad days for Building, Marriages, for undertaking Journeys and Voyages, and for ſuch like Actions, the Succeſs whereof depends more upon the Wiſdom and Diſcretion of Men, than upon the Influence of the Heavens.

The Miſſionaries fearing leaſt they might aſcribe theſe Fooleries and ridiculous Superſtitions to them, becauſe they make them the Authors of the Kalendar, thought themſelves obliged to make a publick Declaration how little hand they have in the Matter, they proteſted that they abſolutely condemned them: And the Emperor, that is not ſubject to theſe Weakneſſes, was willing they ſhould explain themſelves, as to that buſineſs, for his particular Satisfaction.

Me-

Medicine hath not been quite neglected and laid aſide; but becauſe they wanted Phyſicks, or Natural Philoſophy and Anatomy, the Principles thereof, they never make any great progreſs therein; yet muſt it be confeſſed that they have acquired a particular skill in *Pulſes*, that hath made them famous in the World. The Emperor *Hoamti* compoſed a Treatiſe of the ſame above Four thouſand years ago *. Ever ſince that time the Phyſicians of *China* have lookt upon that Science as the Foundation of all Medicine.

* It is juſt 4392 years.

They feel the Pulſe after ſuch a manner as would make a Man ſmile that is not accuſtomed to it. After they have apply'd their four Fingers along the Artery, and have preſt ſtrongly and uniformly the Patients Wriſt, they relax their Finger by degrees, till the Blood that was ſtopt by the preſſing, hath retaken its uſual Courſe; then, a moment after, they begin again to preſs the Arm cloſe, which they continue a conſiderable time; after that, juſt like Men that intended to touch the fret of a Muſical Inſtrument, they raiſe and fall their Fingers ſucceſſively one after another, pinching ſoftly, or hard, ſometimes ſlower, ſometimes faſter, till ſuch time as the Artery anſwers to the Touches which the Phyſician moves, and till the Strength, Weakneſs, Diſorder, and other Symptoms of the Pulſe be manifeſt.

They pretend that there never happens any extraordinary Accident in the Conſtitution, but does alter the Blood, and conſequently cauſes a different impreſſion upon the Veſſels. It is not ſo much by Reaſoning and Arguing that they are inſtructed in this Point, as by a long Experience, which much better diſcovers to them all theſe wonderful Changes than Theory and Speculation.

When

When they have a long time been attentive to the Voice of Nature, that explains it ſelf by the Beatings of the Pulſe, they perfectly and truly perceive thoſe Differences, which otherwiſe ſeem imperceptible. The *Pervigilium* and Lethargy, Loſs of Appetite, or Deſire to Eat, the Head-ach, Weakneſs of Stomach, Fulneſs or Emptineſs; all theſe, are the Cauſe or the Effect of ſome Diſtemper in the Maſs of Blood.

So that its Motion will be at that time leſs frequent or quicker, fuller or weaker, uniform or irregular. Sometimes there will be an Undulation or Trembling, cauſed by the Ebullition of the whole Maſs of the Humours; which may be perceived like to a Bell that trembles after it hath been rung; ſometimes alſo the Artery will not beat a ſtroke, but will ſwell by little and little. By preſſing it, one will moreover be able to perceive ſeveral Effects that do not declare themſelves to the bare touch; for at that time the Courſe of the Circulation, which is ſuſpended or leſſened, which begins again immediately after, with more force, will give occaſion to judge variouſly and differently of the Diſpoſition of the Heart, of the Fermentation there performed, of the Quality of the Blood there prepared, of the Obſtacles that impede its paſſages, of Groſs and Crude Matter that over-charges it, of the Nature of the Spirits that too much rarifie it, and precipitate Tranſpiration. The *Chineſe* Phyſicians pretend to have, by a long Experience diſtinguiſhed all theſe Differences of Pulſes, and to have been able to know all the Diſtempers that are incident thereto; ſo that they hold the Patient's Hand a quarter of an hour at leaſt; ſometimes the right, ſometimes the left, and ſometimes both of them at the ſame time. And after all, as if they were inſpired, they play the Prophet; *You were never troubled with the Head-ach*, ſay they, *but*

with an Heavineſs that hath made you drowſie; or elſe you have loſt your Appetite, you will recover it again within Three days preciſely. This Evening, about Sunſet, your Head will be freer; your Pulſe indicates pain in the Belly, without you have eaten ſuch or ſuch Meat; This Indiſpoſition will laſt five days, after which it will ceaſe. And ſo for other Symptoms of the Malady which they find out, or prognoſticate pretty exactly, when they are expert in the Science; for, as for others, they are commonly falſe Prophets.

It is not to be queſtioned, after all theſe Teſtimonies we have, but that in this reſpect they have ſomething extraordinary, nay, and even wonderful: However, a Man ſhould always miſtruſt them, and one cannot be too much upon his guard againſt them, becauſe they make uſe of all means imaginable to get themſelves ſecretly inſtructed concerning the Patient's Condition before they viſit them. Nay, they are ſo cunning (to get themſelves Reputation) as to feign a kind of Diſtemper, which ſometimes they themſelves procure afterward. A Perſon told me, that ſending for a Phyſician, and a Chyrurgeon to cure him of a Wound, one of them told him, *That the Malady was occaſioned by a ſmall Worm that was inſinuated into the Fleſh, which would infallibly produce a Gangreen, if by ſome Remedy or other it were not fetch'd out: That he was the only Man in all the Country that had this* Arcanum, *and would put it in practice for his ſake, provided he would not grudge him a conſiderable Sum of Money.* The ſick Perſon promiſed him he would not; and paid him part of it before-hand. But this cheating Sophiſter, after divers unprofitable Medicines, entangled at laſt a little Worm in his Plaiſter, which he pull'd out an hour after in triumph, as if it came out of the very Wound. His Companion, that gain'd nothing by the management of this Buſineſs, afterward detected it,

it, but it was too late; and the Chyrurgeon comforted up himſelf more eaſily for the loſs of his Reputation, than the ſick Perſon for the loſs of his Money.

However the Caſe may ſtand as to the Capacity of the *Chineſe* Phyſicians, yet certain it is, that they Predict the Diſtemper eaſier than they Cure it; and Men dye in their hands as they do elſewhere. They prepare their own Remedies, that ordinarily conſiſt of Pills; thereafter as they are prepared, they are either Sudorifick, purge the Blood and Humours, fortifie the Stomach, ſuppreſs Vapours; or are Reſtringent, diſpoſe to Evacuation; but ſeldom work by Stool. They do not let Blood, nor know the Clyſter, but ſince they have had Correſpondence with the Phyſicians of *Macao*. They do not diſapprove the Remedy, but name it *The Remedy of the Barbarians*. They apply Cupping-Glaſſes not only upon the *Scapulæ*, but alſo upon the Belly, to aſſwage the pain of the Colick.

They are in a manner all perſwaded, that the majority of Diſeaſes are cauſed by malignant and corrupted Wind that have ſlipt into the Muſcles, and do ill affect all the Parts of the Body: The moſt ſure means to diſſipate them, is to apply, in different places, red hot Needles, or Buttons of Fire: This is their ordinary Remedy. One day a *Chineſe* ſaid to me, ſeeming to be ſurpriſed at it, alluding to Phlebotomy, *They treat you in* Europe *with the Sword, but here they martyr us by fire; this Mode will probably never alter, becauſe Phyſicians feel not the Miſchief they do us, and are no worſe paid for tormenting of us, than for curing us.*

I cannot tell whether or no they might have learnt this violent Remedy of the *Indians*; or whether the *Indians* themſelves might not have received it from

the *Chineſe* Phyſicians ; but they pretend in the *Indies* that Fire cures all Diſeaſes: This Perſwaſion they perſiſting in, makes every day a great many miſerable Perſons, whom they Cauterize upon the ſlighteſt inconvenience.

Yet there be ſome Maladies that are not curable, but by that means. The People of the Country, but eſpecially the Slaves, are much troubled with a violent Colick, which the *Portugueze* call *Mordetchin*, occaſioned by the indigeſtion of the Stomach, and accompanied, for the moſt part , with continual Vomitings; the Gripes it produceth are cruel, and the Grief and Angiſh often deprives them of their Wits. This Grief is infallibly mortal, if they dot not remedy it after the following manner : They lightly apply an Iron-peal red hot to the Soles of the Feet ; if the Patient ſhews no ſigns of feeling , they paſs no farther, and he is cured : if he be inſenſible of this firſt Operation, they lay it on harder , and ſtill continue to preſs the Peal, burning unmercifully to the very Bone, without deſiſting till the Patient complain, which puts an end to the Malady and Remedy. But if the Fire, how violent ſoever, makes not it ſelf be felt, they deſpair of healing , and in a ſhort time the Patient dies.

Amongſt all the *China* Remedies there are none ſo much eſteemed as Cordials; they are provided with all ſorts of them , and very natural ones; for they conſiſt for the moſt part of Herbs, Leaves, and Roots. Their Simples are numerous; and if the People of the Country may be believed, they have all of them Sovereign and Experienced Virtues. I brought along with me hither near Four hundred, deſigned in their natural Colours and Figure , according to thoſe the Emperor cauſed to be painted for his Cloſet. Father *Viſdelou*, one of the ſix Jeſuits his Majeſty ſent thither

ther *Anno* 1685. is very intent upon the Tranſlation of the *Chineſe* Herbal; wherein are all the Vertues and Qualities of all thoſe Plants explained. This Father, who hath accompliſht himſelf in the Knowledge of Books, will thereto add particular Reflexions of his own; and I make no queſtion but what he ſupplys us with thereupon, will enrich our Botany, and ſatisfie the Ingenious and Curious.

Amongſt theſe Simples there are two that I may ſpeak of before hand: The firſt is the Leaf of * *Thee*, as they call it in *China*; they are much divided in their Opinions touching the Properties they aſcribe to it. Some do maintain that it hath admirable ones; others, that it is but a phancy and meer whim of the *Europeans*, that are always doters on Novelties, and put a value upon that which they do not underſtand; In that, as in all other things where Men do not agree, I believe there is a *medium* to be taken.

* *Thee* is a corrupt word of the Province of *Fokien*, it muſt be called *Tcha*, it is the term of the Mandarin Language.

In *China* they are ſubject neither to Gout, Sciatica, nor Stone; and many imagine that *Thee* preſerves againſt all theſe Diſtempers. The *Tartars* that feed upon raw Fleſh, fall ſick, and ſuffer continual Indigeſtions ſo ſoon as ever they give over drinking of it; and that they may have plenty of it, they bargain to furniſh the Emperor with almoſt all the Horſes that ſerve to remount his Cavalry; when any one is troubled with a *Vertigo* that over-charges the Brain, he finds himſelf extreamly relieved ſo ſoon as he accuſtoms himſelf to *Thee*. In *France* there are abundance of People that find it good for the Gravel, Crudities, Head-aches; and there are who pretend to have been cured of the Gout by it, almoſt miraculouſly; ſo quick and ſenſible has been its effect. All this proves that *Thee* is no Chimera, and Con-

ceit. Nay, ſome after drinking of it ſleep the better, which argues that it is not proper to ſuppreſs Fumes: Some there be who never take it after Meals, without experiencing miſchievous Effects; their Digeſtion is interrupted and diſturbed; and they find along time after Crudities, and a troubleſome Repletion. Others find no benefit by it neither in Gout nor Sciatica. A great many ſay that it dries, makes lean, and that it obſtructs; and that if there be any good qualities in it, the moſt part of other leaves would in a manner produce the ſame effect. Theſe Experiments evince that its Virtue is not ſo Univerſal as People imagine.

So that in my opinion, one ſhould ſpeak moderately of it, both as to its good and bad qualities. Perhaps warm Water alone is a good Medicine againſt Diſtempers, the cure of which they attribute to *Thee*: And there are ſeveral People that are exempt from many Inconveniencies becauſe they are uſed to drink warm Liquors. Nevertheleſs it is certain that *Thee* is of a coroſive nature, for it attenuates hard Victuals wherewith it is boiled, and conſequently is proper for digeſtion, that is to ſay for diſſolution. That very thing proves that it reſiſts Obſtructions, and that Liquors impregnated with its Particles or Salts, carry off, and more eaſily ſeparate all that which adheres to the Tunicks of the Veſſels. This very quality is proper to conſume ſuperfluous Humours, to put into motion thoſe that ſtagnate and corrupt, to evacuate others, that cauſe the Gout and Sciatica: So that *Thee*, with caution, is a very good Remedy, altho' it be not ſo effectual, nor univerſal, but that the temperament of certain Perſons, the height of the Diſtemper, together with certain occult Diſpoſitions, may many times retard the Effect, or even fruſtrate its Virtue.

To uſe it with benefit, it is requiſite to know it, for there is more than one ſort of it. That of the Pro-

vince

vince of *Chenſi* is courſe, harſh, and unpleaſant. The *Tartars* drink of it: There is neceſſary to them a ſtronger *Menſtruum* than to the *Chineſes*, by reaſon of the crude Fleſh they feed on. It is exceeding cheap in the Country, and a pound of it will coſt Three pence. In this ſame Province there is found a particular Species of it, more reſembling Moſs, than the Leaves of a Tree; and they pretend that the oldeſt is of excellent uſe in Acute Diſtempers. They likewiſe adminiſter to ſick People a third ſort, whoſe Leaves are very long and thick, and its goodneſs increaſes in proportion to its being kept; but that is not the *Thee* in uſe.

That which they commonly drink in *China*, hath no particular Name, becauſe it is gather'd hand over head in different Territories and Soils: It is good, the Infuſion is reddiſh, the Taſte faint and ſomewhat bitter: The People uſe it indifferently at all hours of the day, and it is their moſt uſual drink.

But Perſons of Quality uſe two other kinds that are in requeſt in *China*. The firſt is called *Thee Soumlo*; it is the name of the Place where it is gathered; the Leaves are ſomewhat long, the Infuſion clear, and green when it is freſh, the Taſte pleaſant; it ſmells, as they ſay in *France*, a little of Violets, but this Taſte is not natural; and the *Chineſes* have often aſſured me, that to be good, it ought to have no Taſte at all. This is that they commonly preſent at Viſits; but it is exceeding coroſive; perhaps the Sugar they mix with it here corrects its Acrimony; but in *China*, where it is drunk pure, too great a uſe of it would be apt to ſpoil the Stomach.

The ſecond kind is called *Thee Voüi*; the Leaves that are little, and inclining to black, tinge the Water with a yellow Colour. The Taſte is delicious, and the weakeſt Stomach agrees with it at all times. In winter it is to be uſed temperately, but in Summer

one cannot drink too much. It is especially good in Sweating, after Travelling, Running, or any other violent Exercise. They give of it also to sick People; and those who have any Care of their Health, drink no other. When I was at *Siam*, I heard them often talk of the Flower of *Thee*, of Imperial *Thee*, and of several other sorts of *Thee*, the price of which was yet more extraordinary than the Properties they ascribe to it: but in *China* I heard no such thing.

Generally speaking, that the *Thee* may excel, it ought to be gathered early, when the Leaves are yet small, tender and juicy. They begin commonly to gather it in the Months of *March* and *April*, according as the Season is forward; they afterward expose them to the steam of boiling Water to soften them again; so soon as they are penetrated by it, they draw them over Copper-plates kept on the fire, which dries them by degrees, till they grow brown, and rowl up of themselves in that manner we see them. If the *Chineses* were not such great Cheats, their *Thee* would be better; but they oftentimes mix other Herbs with it, to swell the size at a small charge, and so get more Money by it: So that it is a rare thing to meet with any purely without mixture.

It commonly grows in Valleys, and at the foot of Mountains; the choicest grows in stony Soils; that which is planted in light Grounds holds the second rank. The least of all is found in yellow Earth; but in what place soever it is cultivated, care must be taken to expose it to the South; it gets more strength by that, and bears Three years after being sowen. Its Root resembles *that* of a Peach Tree, and its Flowers resemble white wild Roses. The Trees grow of all sizes, from two foot to an hundred, and some are to be met with that two Men can scarce grasp in their Arms; this is what the *Chinese* Herbal relates. But this is what I have seen.

Entring

Entring upon the Province of *Fokien*, they firſt made me obſerve *Thee* upon the declining of a little Hill; it was not above five or ſix foot high, ſeveral Stalks, each of which was an inch thick, joyned together, and divided at the top into a many ſmall Branches, compoſed a kind of Cluſter, much what like our Myrtle. The Trunk, tho' ſeemingly dry, yet bore very green Branches and Leaves. Theſe Leaves were drawn out in length at the point, pretty ſtrait, an inch, or an inch and an half long, and indented in their whole Circumference. The oldeſt ſeemed ſomewhat white without, they were hard, brittle, and bitter. The new ones, on the contrary, were ſoft, plyable, reddiſh, ſmooth, tranſparent, and pretty ſweet to the Taſte, eſpecially after they had been a little chewed.

It being the Month of *September*, I found three ſorts of Fruit. In the new Branches there were little ſlimy Peaſe, green without, and full of yellow Grains within. In others, the Fruit is as big as Beans, but of different Figures; ſome round, containing a Pea; others drawn out in length, that contained two; ſome others of a Triangular Figure, bore three, very like to thoſe that bear the Tallow-grain, ſo famous in *China*.. The firſt Membrane or Skin wherewith theſe Grains are infolded, is green, very thick, and ſomewhat even. The ſecond is white, and thinner; under which a third very fine Pellicle covers a kind of Gland, or ſmall Nut perfectly round, that ſticks to the Bark by a little Fibre, from whence it derives its Nouriſhment. When this Fruit is young, it hath bitterneſs in it; but a day or two after it has been gathered, it withers, grows long, and yellow, and wrinkles even like an old Hazel Nut; at length it becomes unctious and very bitter. Beſides that, I found a third ſort of hard, old Fruits, the firſt Skin of which, between open and ſhut, ſhewed within a hard

bark,

bark, brittle, and altogether reſembling that of a Cheſnut. After I had broken it, ſcarce did I find any ſign of Fruit, ſo dry and flat was it grown. In ſome others the ſame Fruit was pulverized; in others was found a little Nut quite dried up, and covered with its firſt Pellicle.

Amongſt theſe Fruits, a great number of them have no Germ or Bud, which they call Females; thoſe that have any may be ſowen, and produce Trees: but the *Chineſes* do commonly make uſe of Graffs to plant. The better to underſtand the nature of this Tree, I had the Curioſity to taſte the Bark of the Trunk and Branches. I chewed likewiſe ſome of the Wood and Fibres; both of them ſeemed to me not to have any bitterneſs, nay, at leaſt, I found a pretty taſte of Liquoriſh, but ſcarce diſcernable, and is not diſcovered till after making ſome reflexion upon it. Altho' this particular Account may diſpleaſe thoſe that are not concerned in the Knowledge of Plants, yet I am ſure that the more Curious could wiſh a more Specifical Account, as the delicate mixture of Colours in the Flower, the orderly diſpoſition of their Fibres, the conformation of the ſmall Branches and Roots, and a thouſand other Particulars relating to the Anatomy of them; but that is the buſineſs of time and leiſure: I had but a quarter of an hour to examine the Tree of which I have the honour to write to you.

There is in *China* another Simple much leſs common than *Thee*, and upon that very account more valued, which they call *Gin-ſem*: *Gin* ſignifies a Man, and *Sem* a Plant, or Simple, as much as to ſay, *The Humane Simple*, the Simple that reſembles a Man. Thoſe who till this time have given another conſtruction to theſe words are excuſable, becauſe they do not underſtand the Emphaſis of the *Chineſe* Characters, which do alone contain the true ſignification of

of terms: The Learned give it abundance of other Names in their Writings, that ſufficiently declare how much they ſet by it; as the Spirituous Simple, the pure Spirit of the Earth, the Fat of the Sea, the *Panacea*, and the Remedy that diſpenſes Immortality, and ſeveral others of that Nature.

It is a Root as thick as half the little finger, and as long again. It is divided into two Branches, which makes a Figure pretty like a Man with his two Legs; its Colour inclines to yellow, and when it is kept any time it grows wrinkled, and dry'd like Wood; the Leaves it ſhoots forth are little, and terminate in a point; the Branches are black, the Flower violet, and the Stalk covered with hair; they ſay that it produces but one of them; that this Stalk produces three Branches, and that each Branch bears the Leaves by fours and fives; it grows in the ſhade, in a moiſt Soil, yet ſo ſlowly, that it comes not to perfection till after a long term of years. It is commonly found under a Tree called *Kia-chu*, little differing from the Sycomore. Altho' they fetch it from ſeveral places, yet the beſt came heretofore from *Petciſ*. That which is at this day in uſe is taken in *Leautom*, a Province depending upon *China*, and ſituate in the Oriental *Tartary*.

Of all Cordials, according to the *Chineſes* opinion, there are none comparable to *Gin-ſem*; it is ſweet and delightful, altho' there be in it a little ſmack of bitterneſs: Its effects are marvellous; it purifies the Blood, fortifies the Stomach, adds motion to a languid Pulſe, excites the Natural Heat, and withal augments the Radical Moiſture. Phyſicians never know how to make an end when they ſpecifie its Virtues, and have whole Volumes of its different uſes. I have a Collection of their Receipts that I ſhould report intire in this place, if I were not afraid to be tedious, and treſpaſs upon your Patience. I may print them

them at laſt, together with a great many Treatiſes relating to Phyſick or Medicine of the *Chineſes*. I ſhall only add, to what I have but now ſpoken, the uſual Courſe they take in Diſtempers attended with Faintneſs and Swowning, whether it proceeds from ſome Accident, or from old Age.

Take a Dram of this Root, (you muſt begin with a little Doſe, and may increaſe it afterward, according to the Effect the former Doſes ſhall produce) dry it before the fire in a Paper, or infuſe it in Wine, till it be imbued and penetrated by it; then cut it in little pieces with your Teeth (and not with a Knife, Iron diminiſhing its Virtue) and when it is calcined, take the Powder in form of a Bolus, in warm Water or Wine, according as your Diſtemper will permit. This will be an excellent Cordial, and by continuing it you will find your ſelf ſenſibly fortified.

Take alſo the ſame quantity of *Gin-ſem*, or more if you be extream weak, and when you have divided it into little pieces, infuſe it in half a Glaſs full of boiling Water, or elſe you may boil it with the Water it ſelf; the Water, if you drink it, will have the ſame effect. The Root may ſerve a ſecond time, but it abates of its force. They likewiſe make Broths of it, Electuaries, Lozenges, and Syrups, which are excellent Remedies for all ſorts of Diſtempers.

They have alſo another Root which the *Portugueſe* in the *Indies* call *Pao-China*, which is an excellent Sudorifick, very proper to purge the Humours and corrupted Blood; but the Deſcription of all theſe Simples would make me deviate too much, and is not proper for ſuch a ſhort Letter as this.

The Phyſicians of *China* do not employ Apothecaries for the Compoſition of their Medicines, they preſcribe and give them at the ſame time themſelves.

Some

Sometimes in the Patients Chamber, when it may be conveniently done; and ſometimes in their own Houſes. They think it ſtrange the *Europeans* ſhould act otherwiſe, and that they commit the principal point of the Cure to Men that are not concerned in curing them; and are not ſolicitous about the goodneſs of the Drugs, provided they get rid of them to their advantage. But there is another diſorder in *China* a great deal more dangerous than that they lay to our charge; and that is, That there, every Body is admitted to practiſe Phyſick, like other Mechanick Arts, without Examination or Taking their Degrees. So that a pitiful Fellow, that knows not where to put his Head, ſtudies perhaps a Phyſick Book two or three Months, and ſets up for a Doctor *cum privilegio* at the Expence of the Patient's Life, whom he chooſeth to kill, rather than be forced to ſtarve himſelf for lack of Employment. The Vulgar, tho' ill ſerved by them, take a ſtrong phanſy for theſe Pickpockets; and they would reprove themſelves for their Covetouſneſs, when they are indiſpoſed, if they did not dye, or cauſe their Relations to dye ſome other way, than by the way of Nature.

Yet ſome of them you ſhall have confeſs their Fault when it is too late; and I remember that an Inhabitant of the City of *Soutcheou*, loſing his Daughter more through the Ignorance of the Phyſician, than by the Power of the Diſeaſe, was ſo enraged, that he cauſed a Paper to be printed, wherein the bad Conduct of the pretended Doctor was laid open with ſeveral Reflections tending to decry him; he affixt Copies of it in all the publick Places, and cauſed of them to be diſtributed to the principal Houſes of the City. This Revenge, or, as he termed it, this Zeal for the Publick Good, had the Effect he promiſed himſelf. The Phyſician loſt, together with his Reputation, all his Practice, and was reduc'd to

ſo

ſo great an Extremity, that he quickly found himſelf not in a Condition to kill any Body.

The *Chineſes* that are mean Proficients in Sciences, ſucceed much better in Arts; and tho' they have not brought them to that degree of Perfection we ſee them in *Europe*, yet know they in this reſpect not only what is neceſſary for the common uſe of Life, but alſo whatever may contribute to Convenience, Neatneſs, Commerce, and even to well-regulated Magnificence: They would have got a great deal farther, had not the form of Government, that hath preſcribed Bounds to the Expences of private Perſons, put a ſtop to them. The Workmen are extraordinary induſtrious, and if they be not ſo good at invention as we, yet do they eaſily comprehend our Inventions, and imitate it ſo and ſo. There is made in ſeveral places of the Empire Glaſs, Watches, Piſtols, Bombs, and a great company of Pieces of Workmanſhip that they may thank us for; but they have had time out of mind Gun-powder, Printing, and the Uſe of the Compaſs, which are Novel Arts in *Europe*, for which perhaps we are obliged to them.

They divide the Compaſs in 24 parts only, whereas we deſcribe 32; they evermore imagined that the Needle did every where ſhew the true place of the Pole, and by divers Experiments which we made before them, they have obſerved ſome Variation and Declenſion: The Loadſtone is found almoſt in every Province; it comes alſo to them from *Japan:* but the grand uſe they make of it is in Phyſick; 'tis bought by weight, and the beſt are not ſold for above Eight pence or Ten pence an Ounce. I have brought one with me an Inch and an half thick, which tho' indifferently guarded, takes up nevertheleſs Eleven pound weight; it will raiſe Fourteen or Fifteen when it is right fixt. In fine, they are very dex-

dexterous in cutting them; for in *France*, tho' they bring them into all Figures, yet it is not without great labour and coſt. They cut mine in *Nankin* in leſs than two hours; the Engine they make uſe of to that purpoſe is a plain one; and if our Workmen would uſe it, they would abridge their Labour. I ſuppoſed, *Sir*, that you would not be unwilling to ſee the Figure of it, of which ſee here the Explanation.

It is compoſed of two Jaumbs three or four foot high, Arch-like, with two Strings like a Setting-iron, and parted by a Board or Shingle, which goes croſs to it, and cloſed by a Mortiſe in the Lee-board. On the head of the Jaumbs is ſet flat a little Rolling-pin or Cylinder, of an Inch and an half diameter, which can turn circularly by means of a ſtring rolled in the middle, whoſe two ends hanging are tied to a ſtep, on the which the Work-man ſets his foot.

At one of the Extremities of the Cylinder a flat piece of Iron is faſtned with Maſtick by its Center, that piece of Iron is very thin, very round, and very ſharp all about; it is 8 Inches diameter, and moves with a great ſwiftneſs, according as the Steps are ſet high or low. In the mean time the Workman preſents the Loadſtone in one hand, and in the other the Mud made of a very fine Sand, which cools the Iron, and ſerves to cut the Stone; but becauſe the Iron, in going thorow the Sand, throws it about with violence, which might blind the Workman, care is taken to place juſt under it a little Blead, turned in the manner of a half Circle, which receiveth it and defends the Workman.

Navigation is another Point that ſhews the addreſs of the *Chineſes*; we have not always been in *Europe* ſuch able and adventurous Sailors as we are at preſent; the Ancients were not ſo forward to venture them-

themſelves upon the Seas, where it is neceſſary to loſe the ſight of Land for a long time together. The danger of being miſtaken in their Calculation (for they had not then the uſe of the Compaſs) made all Pilots circumſpect and wary.

There are ſome who pretend that the *Chineſes*, a long time before the Birth of our Saviour Chriſt, had ſailed all the Seas of *India*, and diſcovered the *Cape of Good Hope*: However it be, it is moſt certain that from all Antiquity they had always ſtout Ships; and albeit they have not perfected the Art of Navigation, no more than they have done the Sciences, yet did they underſtand much more of it than the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and at this day they ſail as ſecurely as the *Portugueſe*.

Theſe Veſſels are like ours of all Rates, but the Model is not ſo fine; they are all flat-bottom'd; the Fore-caſtle is cut ſhort without a Stem, the Stern open in the middle to the end, that the Rudder, which they ſhut up as in a Chamber, may be defended on the ſides from the Waves: This Rudder, much longer than ours, is ſtrongly tied to the Stern-poſt by two Cables that paſs under the whole length of the Veſſel to the fore-part, two other ſuch like Cables hold it up, and facilitate the hoiſting or lowering it, as occaſion ſerves; the Bar is as long as is neceſſary for the guiding it; the Seamen at the Helm are alſo aſſiſted by Ropes faſtened to the Larboard and Starboard, and rolled upon the extremity of the Bar they hold in their hand, which they faſten or ſlacken as they ſee occaſion, to thruſt or ſtop the Helm.

The Miſen-maſt is quite toward the fore-part, the Main-maſt is not far from the place where we place our Miſnes. A Cord that goes from Starboard to Larboard, according as the Wind chops about, ſerves them for a Stay and Shrowds; the Boltſprit, which is very

very weak, is at the Larboard, at a conſiderable diſtance from the middle, where we are wont to place them. The Round-tops they uſe are very ſhort, but the Main-maſt is of a prodigious height and thickneſs; it is ſtrongly ſeized, as far as the upper part of the Deck, by two ſide Beams that ſtrengthen it wonderfully, yea, and deprive it of playing, which we leave to ours, becauſe it ſerves to give the Veſſel Air, and to quicken its motion.

The low Sails are of very thick Matt, trimm'd up with Laths and long Poles to ſtrengthen them, from two foot to two foot, faſtened to the whole length of the Maſts by ſeveral little loops; they are not faſtened in the middle, but have three quarters of their breadth looſe, that they may be accommodated to the Wind, and readily tackt about as occaſion ſerves. A great many ſmall Cords, hanging at the ſides of the Sail, where they are placed at ſeveral diſtances from the Sail-yard to the bottom are gathered up, and keep tight the whole length of the Matt, and further the motion when the Ships Courſe is to be changed.

As for the Okam to calk withal, they do not uſe melted Pitch and Tar, but a Compoſition made of Lime and Oil, or rather of a particular Gum with Flax of raſped Bambou; this Matter is not ſubject to the Accidents of Fire, and the Okam is ſo good, that the Veſſel ſeldom or never Leaks, neither do they ever uſe the Pump, a Well or two ſerves to keep the Keel dry. In your huge Veſſels the Anchors are of Iron; in the middle ſort they are of an hard, heavy Wood, and they only ſtrengthen the ends; but I have obſerved that that was not ſufficient: a Spring-tide, or a freſh Gale of Wind, runs the Ship adrift, when it is not well anchored: And to ſpare the coſt of an Iron Anchor, they often run the risk to be caſt

away. As for the Cables they are of Flax of *Coco*, *Canvas*, or *Rotin*. The *Rotin* is a kind of long Cane which they make into Treſſes like little Cords, the Twiſts of them are uſually flat, and are ſtronger then all the other; but becauſe they eaſily ſnap under Water when they come to touch upon any Rock, they do not much uſe them but only upon Rivers, for to tow againſt the Tide.

The *Chineſes* have in their Veſſels a Captain, as we have; but his chief buſineſs is to keep the Crew in awe, and victual them; the Pilot marks out the Rhumb, and places the Compaſs. When they can diſcover no Land, or when they do not ken it, thoſe upon duty at the Helm, ſteer as they pleaſe; ſo ſoon as they come within ken of the Coaſt, or enter into the Port, the Mariners are ſo vigilant, and ſo intent upon their duty, that they don't expect to be commanded.

You ſee, *My Lord*, by what I have ſaid, that we far ſurpaſs the *Chineſes* at Sea in the Art of Navigation; but it muſt be confeſt that upon Rivers and Channels, they have a particular addreſs that we are not Maſters of; they there mannage with a few Mariners, huge Barks as big as our Ships; and there is ſuch a great number of them in all the Southern Provinces, that they always keep Nine thouſand, nine hundred, ninety nine ready equipped amongſt thoſe that are deſigned for the Service of the Emperor. After this manner do the People ſpeak; for this way of expreſſing themſelves hath a greater Emphaſis in their Language, and ſeem to denote ſomething more, than if they ſhould ſay in one word, that there are Ten thouſand of them; it is a hard matter to convince them of an untruth; for really there is ſuch a prodigious number of them, that they cannot be reckoned; they

* Kiou-tchien, Kiou-pé, Kiou-ché, Kiou.

they are all flat bottom'd, their Sails and Maſts are not much different from thoſe I but juſt now deſcribed; but the Model is not the ſame. The Body of the Veſſel, that is alike broad from Prow to Poop, hath two Wells; upon the firſt, or upon the Deck, they build from one end to another, little Cabins, that are raiſed above the ſides Seven or Eight foot, or thereabouts; they are painted within and without, varniſht, gilded, and all over ſo neat and handſome, that they are capable of making the longeſt Voyages too ſhort, tho' ſome they take that laſt four or five Months without intermiſſion; for they lodge, they diet, and are always aboard theſe noble Barks; and when a good company of *Mandarins* go together (which pretty often happens) there is no place where they paſs the time away more delightfully. They viſit one another almoſt every day without Complement; they Play, they Treat one another mutually, as if they were all of a Family. This Society ſeems ſo much the more acceptable to them, becauſe it is not forced, and conſtrained, as in other places, by the Incumbrances of nice Ceremonies, nor ſubject to Suſpicions that ſuch a free Correſpondence would not fail to foment, if they behaved themſelves ſo in the Cities.

Notwithſtanding theſe Barks be extraordinary big, and tho' they always be either under Sail, or tugg'd along by Ropes, yet do they by times make uſe of Oars, when they are upon great Rivers, or croſs Lakes. As for ordinary Barks, they do not row them after the *European* manner; but they faſten a kind of a long Oar to the Poup, nearer one ſide of the Bark than to the other, and ſometimes another like it to the Prow, that they make uſe of as the Fiſh does of its Tail, thruſting it out, and pulling it to them again, without ever lifting it above Water. This Work produces a continuing rolling in the Bark;

but it hath this advantage, that the Motion is never interrupted, whereas the Time and Effort that we employ to lift up our Oars is loſt, and ſignifies nothing.

The knack the *Chineſes* have to Sail upon Torrents is ſomewhat wonderful and incredible: They in a manner force Nature, and make a Voyage without any dread, which other People dare not ſo much as look upon without being ſeized with ſome Apprehenſion. I ſpeak not of thoſe Cataracts they aſcend by meer ſtrength of Arm, to paſs from one Canal to another, which in ſome Relations are called Sluices; but of certain Rivers that flow, or rather run headlong quite croſs abundance of Rocks, for the ſpace of Three or Fourſcore Leagues. Had I not been upon theſe perillous Torrents my ſelf, I ſhould have much ado to believe, upon anothers report, what I my ſelf have ſeen. It is a raſhneſs for Travellers to expoſe themſelves, if they have been but never ſo little informed of it; and a kind of madneſs in Sailors to paſs their Life in a Trade, wherein they are every moment in danger of being deſtroy'd.

Theſe Torrents whereof I ſpeak, which the People of the Country call *Chan*, are met with in ſeveral places of the Empire; many of them may be ſeen when one Travels from *Nam-tcham-fou*, the Capital City of *Kiam-ſi* to *Canton*. The firſt time I went that way with Father *Fontancy*, we were hurried away with that Rapidity, that all the Endeavours of our Mariners could not overcome, our Bark, abandoned to the Torrent, was turn'd round like a Whirlegigg for a long time, amongſt the ſinuoſities and windings that the Courſe of the Water formed; and at laſt daſht upon a Rock even with the Water, with that violence, that the Rudder, of the thickneſs of a good Beam, broke like a piece of Glaſs, and the whole

whole Body of it was carried by the force of the Currant upon the Rock, where it remained immoveable: If inſtead of touching at the Stern, it had hit ſideways, we had been infallibly loſt; but thoſe are not the moſt dangerous places.

In the Province of *Fokien*, whether one comes from *Canton*, or *Hamt-cheou*, one is, during Eight or Ten days, in continual danger of periſhing. The Cataracts are continual, always broken by a Thouſand Points of Rocks, that ſcarce leave breadth enough for the paſſage of the Bark; there are nothing but Turnings and Windings, nothing but Caſcades and contrary Currants, that daſh one againſt another, and hurry the Boat along like an Arrow out of a Bow; you are always within Two foot of Shelves, which you avoid only to fall foul upon another, and from that to a third; if the Pilot by an addreſs, not ſufficiently to be admired, does not eſcape from Shipwrack that threatens him every moment.

There are none in all the World beſides the *Chineſes* capable of undertaking ſuch like Voyages, or ſo much concerned or intereſſed, as not to be diſcouraged, maugre all the Accidents that befal them, for there paſſes not a day that is not memorable for Shipwracks; nay, and I wonder all Barks do not periſh. Sometimes a Man is ſo fortunate as to ſplit in a place not far diſtant from the ſhoar, as I chanced twice to do, then indeed one eſcapes by ſwimming, provided one has ſtrength enough to ſtruggle out of the Torrent, which is uſually very ſtrait. Other times the Barks run adrift, and in a moment is upon the Rocks, where it remains aground with the Paſſengers; but ſometimes it happens, eſpecially in ſome more rapid Vortices, that the Veſſel is in pieces, and the Crew buried before one has time to know where they are. Sometimes alſo when one deſcends the Caſ-

cades formed by the River, that altogether runs headlong, the Boats by falling all on ſudden, plunge into the Water at the Prow, without being able to riſe again, and diſappear in a trice. In a word, theſe Voyages are ſo dangerous, that in more then Twelve thouſand Leagues that I have Sail'd upon the moſt tempeſtuous Seas in the World, I don't believe I ever run through ſo many Dangers for Ten years, as I have done in Ten days upon theſe Torrents.

The Barks they make uſe of are built of a very thin, light Timber, which makes it more fit to follow all the impreſſions one has a mind to give them. They divide them into five or ſix Apartments ſeparated by good Partitions, ſo that when they touch at any place, upon any point of a Rock, only one part of the Boat is full, whilſt the other remains dry, and affords time to ſtop the hole the Water has made. For to moderate the Rapidity of the Motion, in places where the Water is not too deep, ſix Seamen, three on each ſide, hold a long Spret or Pole thruſt to the bottom, wherewith they reſiſt the Currant, yet ſlackning by little and little, by the help of a ſmall Rope made faſt at one end to the Boat, and twined at the other round the Pole, that ſlips but very hardly, and by a continual rubbing, ſlackens the motion of the Bark, which, without this Caution, would be driven with too much Rapidity: inſomuch that when the Torrent is even, and uniform, how precipitous ſoever its Courſe be, you float with the ſame ſlowneſs, as one does upon the calmeſt Canal; but when it winds in and out, this Caution is to no purpoſe; then indeed they have recourſe to a double Rudder, made in faſhion of an Oar, of forty or fifty foot long, one whereof is at the Prow, and the other at the Poup. In the plying of theſe two great Oars conſiſts all the Skill of the Sailors, and Safety of the Bark; the reciprocal Jerks and cunning Shakes

they

they give it, to drive it on, or to turn it right as they would have it, to fall juſt into the Stream of the Water, to ſhun one Rock, without daſhing on another, to cut a Currant, or purſue the fall of Water, without running head-long with it, whirles it about a Thouſand different ways: It is not a Navigation, it is a *Manege*; for there is never a managed Horſe that labours with more fury under the hand of a Maſter of an Academy, then theſe Boats do in the hands of theſe *Chineſe* Mariners: So that when they chance to be caſt away, it is not ſo much for want of Skill as Strength; and whereas they carry not above eight Men, if they would take fifteen, all the Violence of the Torrents would not be capable to carry them away. But it is a thing common enough in the World, and eſpecially in *China*, rather to hazard a Man's Life, and run the risk to loſe all he has, then to be at indifferent Charges one thinks not abſolutely neceſſary.

Seeing I am ſpeaking of the Addreſs and Skill of the *Chineſes* upon Rivers, I cannot forbear, *My Lord*, letting you obſerve what they are Maſters of in matter of Fiſhing, beſides the Line, Nets, and the ordinary Inſtruments we make uſe of in *Europe*, which they employ as well as we, they have moreover two ways of catching Fiſh, that ſeem to me very ſingular, and odd: The firſt is practiſed in the Night, when it is Moon-ſhine; they have two very long, ſtrait Boats, upon the ſides of which they Nail from one end to the other, a Board about two foot broad, upon which they have rub'd white Varniſh, very ſmooth and ſhining; this Plank is inclined outward, and almoſt toucheth the Surface of the Water: That it may ſerve their turn, it is requiſite to turn it towards the Moon-ſhine, to the end that the Reflexion of the Moon may increaſe its brightneſs, the Fiſh playing and ſporting, and miſtaking the Colour of the Plank,

for that of the Water, jerk out that way, and tumble before they are aware, either upon the Plank, or into the Boat, ſo that the Fiſher-man, almoſt without taking any pains, hath in a little time his ſmall Bark quite full.

The ſecond manner of Fiſhing is yet more pleaſant: They breed, in divers Provinces, Cormorants, and they order and mannage them as we do Dogs, or even as we do Hawks for the Game; one Fiſherman can very eaſily look after an hundred; he keeps them perched upon the ſides of his Boat, quiet, and waiting patiently for orders, till they are come at the place deſigned for fiſhing in; then, at the very firſt ſignal that is given them, each takes its flight, and flies toward the way that is aſſigned it. 'Tis a very pleaſant thing to behold how they divide amongſt them the whole breadth of the River, or of the Lake; they ſeek up and down, they dive, and come, and go upon the Water an hundred times, till they have ſpy'd their Prey; then do they ſeize it with their Beek, and immediately bring it to their Maſter. When the Fiſh is too big, they help one another interchangeably, one takes it by the Tail, another by the Head, and go after that manner in company to the Boat, where they hold out long Oars to them; there they perch themſelves with their Fiſh, which they part not with till they go ſeek for another. When they are weary, they let them reſt a while; but give them nothing to eat till the Fiſhing is over; during which time their Throat is tied with a ſmall Cord, for fear they ſhould ſwallow the little Fiſh, and may have no liſt to work longer.

I forbear ſpeaking, *My Lord*, of their dexterity and neatneſs in the Manufactures of Silk, Earthen Ware, Verniſh, Architecture: Theſe Matters have been exhauſted in publick Relations. It is well known that the Silk-Stuffs of *China* are not only handſome,

handſome, but good and ſerviceable; that their Porcelain is of a neatneſs and matter unimitable; that their Verniſh, and the uſe they make of it upon their Cabinets, Tables, Skreens, have procured them the admiration of all *Europe*. As for their Architecture, altho' they have an inclination far different from ours, and coming ſhort of that Perfection that we ſuppoſe our ſelves arrived to; yet muſt it be confeſt however, that there are ſome pieces of Sculpture in *China* perfectly well wrought, and the Publick Edifices, as Gates of great Cities, Towers, and Bridges, have ſomething in them moſt noble and beautiful. In fine, the *Chineſes* in point of Arts are dexterous, laborious, curious to find out the Inventions and Contrivances of other Nations, and very apt to imitate them. But what is peculiar to them, is, that in all their Works they perform with a very few Inſtruments and plain Engines, what our Artificers in *Europe* do not execute with almoſt an infinite number of Utenſils.

The better to let the Character of their Ingenuity be known, I ſhall add, That there is no Nation under the Sun, that is more fit for Commerce and Traffick, and underſtand them better: One can hardly believe how far their Tricks and Craftineſs proceeds when they are to inſinuate into Mens Affections, manage a fair Opportunity, or improve the Overtures that are offered: The deſire of getting torments them continually, and makes them diſcover a thouſand ways of gaining, that would not naturally come into their Head: Every thing ſerves their turn, every thing is precious to the *Chineſe*, becauſe there is nothing but they know how to improve. They undertake the moſt difficult Voyages, for the leaſt hopes of gain, and that's the reaſon why all things are in motion; in the Streets, upon the Roads, upon the Rivers, and all along the Coaſts,

of

of Maritime Towns, you ſhall ſee a world of Travellers: The infinite Trade and Commerce that is carried on every where, is the Soul of the People, and the *primum mobile* of all their Actions.

If they would accompany Labour and natural Induſtry with a little more honeſty, eſpecially in reſpect of Strangers, nothing could be wanting to them that might contribute to the making of able, compleat Merchants; but their eſſential quality is to deceive and couſin, when it lyes in their power; ſome of them do not conceal it, but boaſt of it: I have heard of ſome ſo brazen fac'd, that when they have been taken in the Fact, to excuſe themſelves by their Simplicity, ſay, *You ſee that I do not underſtand cunningneſs; you know more of it than I; but perhaps I ſhall be more lucky, or more ſubtle another time.* They falſifie almoſt every thing they vend, when things are in a condition to be falſified. They ſay particularly, that they counterfeit Gammons of Bacon ſo artificially, that many times a Man is miſtaken in them; and when they have boil'd them a long time, they find nothing, when they come to eat them, but a huge piece of Wood under an Hogs-skin. It is certain a Stranger will be always cheated, if he buy alone, let him take what care he will; he ſhould employ a truſty *Chineſe*, who is acquainted with the Country, who knows all the Tricks; and indeed you will be very happy, if he that buys, and he that ſells, do not collogue together to your Coſt, and go ſnips in the profit.

When one lends them any thing, he muſt have Sureties; for as for their word, thoſe who know them cannot rely upon it. Some of them have been obſerved to borrow a very ſmall Sum, promiſing to reſtore the Principal with vaſt Intereſt, which they punctually performed upon the day appointed, to gain themſelves the Reputation of down-right honeſt

Men.

Men. After that they demanded a greater Sum, which they repay alſo without failing. At length, they continued this Commerce whole years together, till ſuch time as engaging to Credit them, and lend them conſiderable Sums, they carried their Money far enough off, and diſappeared for ever.

When they would obtain a Favour, they do not diſcover themſelves all on the ſudden; there are ſome who prepare for it whole years before-hand. They make preſents to the Maſter, and to all thoſe of the Houſhold; they ſeem ſo much the more diſintereſſed, and to have no deſign, as they miſtruſt Peoples good will; but when one has accepted their Toys, which they thought they might do without fearing any bad Conſequence, then they begin to ſhew their deſign; and they have already ſo well play'd their Game, that they ſeldom receive a Repulſe for what they demand.

This Subtilty of Deceiving is ſtill more extraordinary in Thieves and Robbers: They break through the thickeſt Walls, burn Gates, and make great holes in them by the help of a certain Engine which fires the Wood without any flame. They penitrate into the moſt private Receſſes, without ever being perceiv'd; and when People awake in the Morning, they are amazed to find their Bed without Curtains and Coverlets, their Chamber unfurniſht, Tables, Cabinets, Coffers, Plate, all is marcht off, without ſo much ſometimes as perceiving any foot-ſteps of the Thieves, but the Hole in the Wall at which they went out with all the Moveables of the Houſe.

When they are apprehended, if they be armed, they ſuffer death; but now if they be not in a condition to wound, or kill any body, they inflict ſome other Corporal Puniſhment, according to the quality of the Goods ſo ſtoll'n; for if they have taken nothing, the Judges are ſatisfied to puniſh them with thirty

thirty or forty blows with a Cudgel. They ſay theſe Felons have a certain Drug, the Fume of which extreamly ſtupifies, and caſts into a deep ſleep, which affords them time and opportunity to do their Job; and they are ſo perſwaded of that Truth, that Travellers cauſe a Baſin of cold Water to be brought in to their Chamber in the Inn, which is a ſure Remedy to fruſtrate the power or charm of the Fume.

Not but that after all one may meet with honeſty and diſintereſt amongſt the *Chineſes*; for, (not to ſpeak of Chriſtians, in whom Religion hath reformed the evil Inclinations of Nature) I do remember that at my firſt arrival into *China* with my Companions, Strangers, unknown, expoſed to the Avarice of the *Mandarins*, not one of them did us the leaſt wrong; and what appeared yet more extraordinary was, That offering a Preſent to a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtom-houſe, People that are uſually greedy, and attentive to the improvement of ſuch ſort of occaſions, he proteſted, notwithſtanding all our earneſt Intreaties, that he would never take any thing of any Body ſo long as he was in his Office; but if one day he ſhould chance to be in another Condition, he would with all his heart receive from us ſome *European* Curioſity. After all, theſe are rare Examples, and the ſame is not the Character of the Natives.

As the *Chineſes* have a Genius for Commerce, ſo have they likewiſe for Affairs of State; their Wit has been a long time adapted to Politicks, and negotiating Affairs, not with Foreigners, whom they look upon as Barbarians, and their Subjects, whom the ancient haughtineſs of the Empire forbids to correſpond with, but amongſt themſelves, according as they are bound by Intereſt, or, as their Fortune ingages them therein. There is Policy amongſt Princes, and other Grandees of the Realm, as much as in any

Court

Court of *Europe*; They continually apply themſelves to know the Guſto, Inclinations, Humours, and Deſigns one of another; and they ſtudy it ſo much the more, as they are more reſerved, and diſſembling themſelves, they keep a fair Correſpondence with every Body, nay, and even obſerve a Decorum with their Enemies.

As the way of Challenging a Duel is not allowed in the State, all their Revenge is reaſonable and ſecret; one cannot imagine by how many Shifts and Contrivances they endeavour to deſtroy one another, without making any ſhew of having any ſuch thing in their head. They are not only Diſſemblers, but patient, even to inſenſibleneſs, in expecting a favourable Moment to declare themſelves, and to ſtrike home. But as they obſerve all ſorts of meaſures with their Enemies, the better to lull them aſleep, ſo they ſometimes huff their beſt Friends, for fear leaſt a too ſtrict Bond of Friendſhip ſhould involve them in ſome unlucky buſineſs. So far are they from that barbarous Friendſhip that inclines us in *Europe* to engage thoſe in our private Quarrels that are moſt devoted to us, and to expoſe, without any advantage, a Life that we ſhould defend even by the loſs of our own.

The Lords of the Court, the Vice-Roys of Provinces, and Generals of Armies, are in perpetual motion, to preſerve or acquire the principal Places of the State; they carry on their buſineſs by Money, Favour, and by intrigue: And ſince the Laws give nothing, either to Solicitation, Riches, or Ambition of private Perſons, but ſolely to Merit, the moſt ſubtle ſeem always moſt moderate, whilſt in the mean time, by an hundred hidden Springs, they endeavour to obtain the choice and eſteem of the Emperor.

In ſhort, if ſome Neighbours, more potent, and better

ter Head-pieces than the *Tartars* could have been able to have accuſtom'd them to make Treaties, as the different People of *Europe* do amongſt themſelves, I am perſwaded that Policy and Negotiations would have proved more powerful to defend them from their Enemies, then that prodigious Wall, of which they endeavoured to make a Bulwark, and all thoſe numerous Armies, wherewith they have hitherto, but all in vain, oppoſed them.

After all that I have ſaid, I leave you to judge, *My Lord,* of the Character of theſe People, and of the value that ought to be put upon them; when a Man hath a guſt as good as yours, he does not think of things nicely, but alſo judges of them ſolidly, and with the greateſt exactneſs; ſo that I ſuppoſe no body will take it ill that I ſubmit the *Chineſe* to your Cenſure. They only would find ſome difficulty to ſubſcribe to it, if they underſtood the defect of their Wit and *Genius,* as much as we underſtand the delicateneſs of yours; but as they believe themſelves the moſt witty Nation in the World, I am ſure they will be glad to be given over to the Judgment of a Perſon, whom all *France* begins to admire, and what is more, whom *Lewis the Great* honours particularly with his eſteem. You will obſerve, *My Lord,* in *China* ſome Faults which one cannot excuſe; all the favour I beg of you for them, is to reflect, That formerly they have been wiſer, more ſincere and honeſt, leſs corrupted than they are at preſent. Vertue, which they cultivated with ſo much care, which contributed infinitely to model their Reaſon, made them at that time the wiſeſt People of the Univerſe; and being their Manners were more regular, ſo I doubt not but they were then more ſpiritual, and more rational.

However, in the very Condition wherein they are at preſent, you will perhaps eſteem them notwithſtanding, and find withal, that though they have

not

not Ingenuity enough to be compared with our Learned and Knowing Men in *Europe*, yet do they not give place to us in Arts; that they equal us in Politeneſs, and that perhaps they may ſurpaſs us in Politicks and in Government. I am with the moſt profound Reſpect,

My Lord,

Your moſt humble

and moſt obedient Servant

L. J.

THE

THE

Present State

OF

CHINA.

PART II.

To the Cardinal D'Eſtrees.

Of the Policy and Government of the Chineſe.

WHEN I had the honour to give your Eminence an account of the preſent State of *China*, I did a long time doubt whether or no I ſhould venture to deſcribe to you their Form of Government. To handle ſo nice a Subject requires the abilities of the moſt exact Politician, and a knowledg of State-

Affairs exquisite as yours; a Subject not to be managed by any without pains and trouble, but which lies too deep for those of my Character whose knowledg in the Affairs of this World is slight and superficial.

But yet it would be the greatest of injuries to the *Chinese*, to pass that over in silence, which they look upon as the thing to which they owe all their good qualities, and which they esteem as a Masterpiece of the most exact Policy: Thus therefore, my Lord, tho' I should own it a piece of imprudence in me to meddle with these mysterious Arcana of Government, and to search never so little into the depths of worldly Wisdom; I could be content to be blamed for it in *Europe*, if *China*, to whom I own I bear a kindness, and respect, approve of it in me, and get any Credit thereby.

Amongst the several Models and Plans of Government which the Antients framed, we shall perhaps meet with none so perfect and exact as is that of the *Chinese* Monarchy. The antient Lawgivers of this Potent Empire, formed it in their days very little different from what it is in ours. Other States, according to the common fate of the things of this World, are sensible of the weakness of Infancy; are born mishapen and imperfect; and like Men they owe their perfection and maturity to time. *China* seems more exempted from the common Laws of Nature; and as though God himself had founded their Empire, the Plan of their Government was not a whit less perfect in its Cradle, than it is now after the experience and tryal of four thousand years.

During all which time the *Chinese* had never so much as heard of the Name of Republick; and when lately, on the *Hollanders* arrival, they heard of it, it seemed so strange to them that they have scarcely yet done admiring at it. Nothing could make them understand

derſtand how a State could regularly be governed without a King, they looked upon a Republick to be a Monſter with many Heads, formed by the ambition, headineſs, and corrupt inclination of Men in times of publick diſorder and confuſion.

As they bear an averſion to Republican Government, ſo are they yet more ſet againſt Tyranny and Oppreſſion; which they ſay proceeds not from the abſoluteneſs of the Princes power, for they cannot be too much their Subjects Maſters; but from the Princes own wildneſs, which neither the Voice of Nature, nor the Laws of God can ever countenance. The *Chineſe* are of Opinion that the Obligation which is laid on their Kings not to abuſe their Power, is rather a means to confirm and eſtabliſh them, than to occaſion their ruin; and that this uſeful conſtraint which they themſelves lay on their Paſſions does no more diminiſh their Power or Authority here on Earth, than the like conſtraint derogates from the Majeſty and Power of the Almighty, who is not the leſs powerful becauſe he cannot do evil.

An unbounded Authority which the Laws give the Emperor, and a Neceſſity which the ſame Laws lay upon him to uſe that Authority with moderation and diſcretion, are the two Props which have for ſo many Ages ſupported this great Fabrick of the *Chineſe* Monarchy. The firſt Principle thereof that is inſtilled into the People, is to reſpect their Prince with ſo high a Veneration as almoſt to adore him. They Stile him the Son of Heaven, and the only Maſter of the World. His Commands are indiſputable, his words carry no leſs Authority with them than if they were Oracles: in ſhort every thing that comes from him is Sacred. He is ſeldom ſeen, and never ſpoken to but on the knees. The Grandees of the Court, the Princes of the Blood, nay his own Brothers bow to the ground, not only when he is preſent, but

even before his Throne; and there are ſet days every week or month, in which the Nobility aſſemble, who meet in one of the Courts in the Palace, to acknowledg the Authority of their Prince by their moſt ſubmiſſive Adorations, tho' he perhaps be not there in Perſon.

When he is ill, eſpecially if dangerouſly, the Palace is full of Mandarins of every Order, who ſpend night and day, in a large Court, in Habits proper for the occaſion, to expreſs their own grief, and to ask of Heaven their Princes Cure. Rain, Snow, Cold, or any other inconveniences excuſe them not from the performance of this Duty; and as long as the Emperor is in pain, or in danger, any one that ſaw the People would think that they fear nothing but the loſs of him.

Beſides, Intereſt is no ſmall occaſion of the great reſpect which is ſhown him by his Subjects; for as ſoon as he is proclaimed Emperor, the whole Authority of the Empire is in his hand, and the good or ill Fortune of his Subjects is owing wholly to him.

Firſt, All Places in the Empire are in his diſpoſal, he beſtows them on whom he thinks fit; and beſides, he is to be looked upon as the diſpoſer of them the more, becauſe none of them are ever ſold. Merit, that is Honeſty, Learning, long Experience, and eſpecially a grave and ſober behaviour, is the only thing conſidered in the Candidates, and no other conſiderations can lay any claim to favour. Neither is this all, that he hath the choice of all Officers of State; but if he diſlikes their management when choſen, he diſmiſſes or changes them without more ado. A Peccadillo has heretofore been thought enough to render a Mandarin incapable of continuing in his Place; and I am told that a Governour of one of their Cities was turned out, becauſe on a day of Audience his Cloaths were thought too gay to become

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the gravity of his Office; the Emperor thinking a a Perſon of that humour not fit to fill ſuch a Place, or to act as a Magiſtrate who repreſents his Prince.

I my ſelf ſaw at *Pekin* an Example of this Sovereign Power, at which I was the more ſurpriſed becauſe it was brought about with ſo little diſturbance. It was diſcovered that three *Colaos* (who are Mandarins as honourable for their Places amongſt the *Chineſe*, as our Miniſters of State are amongſt us) had taken mony underhand for ſome ſervices done by them in the Execution of their Office. The Emperor, who was informed of it, took away their Salaries immediately, and ordered them without farther trouble to retire. What became of the two firſt, or how they were uſed, I cannot tell; but the other, who had a great while been a Magiſtrate, and was as much eſteemed for his Underſtanding as he was reſpected for his Age, was Condemned to look after one of the Palace Gates amongſt other common Soldiers, in whoſe company he was Liſted.

I ſaw him my ſelf one day in this mean condition: he was upon Duty as a common Sentinel; when I paſſed by him I bowed to him, as indeed every one elſe did; for the *Chineſe* ſtill reſpected in him the ſlender remains of that honour which he had juſt before poſſeſſed.

I muſt confeſs I ſoon left wondering at ſo ſevere a puniſhment inflicted on ſo great a Man; when I ſaw after what manner even the Princes of the Blood themſelves were uſed. One of them was a mighty lover of ſports, eſpecially of Cock-fighting (which is a uſual Diverſion in the Eaſt, and the obſtinacy of thoſe Creatures, which armed with Gavelocks, fight 'till they dye with an incredible Skill and Courage, is very ſurpriſing.) The Emperor did not think it amiſs that this Prince ſhould ſpend a few hours in ſuch ſort of Diverſions. He knew that Great Men have

ſpare time as well as others; and that it does not derogate from any Man's Character to throw away an hour or two ſometimes in thoſe Diverſions which are more ſuitable to young People, and that it is not at all improper for Men of Underſtanding and Gravity to condeſcend to mean and ordinary Sports, in order to give ſome relaxation and eaſe to their weary Spirits. Nevertheleſs, he could not bear to ſee him ſpend his whole time in things ſo much below his Quality, and ſo unbecoming his Years, he therefore told him of it; but finding that this admonition did not work with him, the Emperor reſolved to make an Example of him, and did therefore declare that he had forfieted his Title and Honour of Prince, he was beſides deprived of his Retinue, his Salary, and his Quality, until he ſhould by ſome great and extraordinary Action make it appear to the whole Kingdom that he was not unworthy of the Blood from whence he ſprang.

The Emperor went yet a ſtep farther, for perceiving that the number of the Princes of the Blood was very great, and that the ill Conduct of many of them might in time bring their Quality into contempt: he publiſhed an Order that none ſhould hereafter bear that Character without his expreſs leave, which he gave to none but thoſe who by their Vertue, Underſtanding, and Diligence in their Offices, did very well deſerve it.

Such Adminiſtrations in *Europe* would cauſe Heart-burnings and Factions in the States; but in *China* they are brought about without any the leaſt diſturbance, theſe Changes create no manner of trouble if they are done for the Publick Good, and not from a perſonal Hatred or violent Paſſion; however if the Emperor ſhould be ſo far tranſported as to act thus to ſatisfie his own Paſſion, yet if his Government be generally equitable and juſt, ſuch particular ill Adminiſtrations

miniſtrations raiſe no Faction in his Subjects againſt him.

You will have a plain proof of the abſoluteneſs of the Emperors Power from a paſſage which happened in a late war with one of the Kings of *Tartary*. The Emperor ſent a mighty Army under his Brothers Command, to puniſh the Vanity and Raſhneſs of that puny King, who had dared to make inroads into the Countries of ſeveral of the Allies of the Empire. The *Tartar*, whoſe warlike Troops ſought only an opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves, advanced to engage the Imperial Army, and ſet upon them with ſo much violence and vigour, that at laſt, notwithſtanding he was ſo much inferior to them in number, he beat them from their ground, and forced them to retreat in diſorder.

The Emperors Father in Law, an old *Tartar*, well verſed in the Trade of War, commanded the Artillery, and plaid his part ſo well that he was killed at the head of a few, yet brave Soldiers, whom he encouraged as well by his Example as by his Words; but the General was accuſed for flying firſt, and drawing by his flight the reſt of the Army after him. The Emperor who is himſelf a Man of Courage, and an admirer of Glory, was leſs troubled at the loſs of the Battle than he was at that of his Brothers Honour. He ſent for him immediately to Court, to be tryed before a Council of the Blood, whom he aſſembled in his Palace.

The Prince, who was on all other accounts a Perſon of ſingular Merit, ſurrendered himſelf with the ſame humility and ſubmiſſion, as he could have done had he been the meaneſt Officer in the Army, and without ſtaying till Sentence was pronunced he condemned himſelf, and owned that he deſerved death. *You deſerve it*, ſaid the Emperor, *but you ought, to recover your loſt Honour, to ſeek your death in the midſt*

of the Enemies Troops, and not here among us in the midſt of Pekin *where it can only encreaſe your diſgrace.* At laſt the Emperor was inclineable to Pardon him; but the Princes, who thought themſelves in ſome meaſure diſgraced by this Action, earneſtly begged of the Emperor to uſe the utmoſt of his Power to puniſh him: and his Uncle who aſſiſted at the Council treated him with ſo much ſcorn and contempt, that amongſt us ſuch uſage would afflict any Gentleman ſo ſenſibly as to go near to break his Heart.

The Emperor, who has power over the lives of the Princes of the Blood, can certainly diſpoſe of his other Subjects: the Laws make him ſo far Maſter of their lives, that neither Viceroy, nor Parliaments, nor any other Sovereign Court throughout the whole Empire can Execute any Criminal without expreſs order from Court. They are Arraigned and Tryed up and down in the ſeveral Provinces, but the Sentence is always preſented to the Emperor, who either confirms or rejects it as he pleaſes, moſt an end he agrees to it, but he very often cuts off part of the Sentence, and makes it leſs rigorous.

Secondly, although every one be perfect Maſter of his Eſtate, and enjoys his Lands free from diſturbance and moleſtation: the Emperor, can nevertheleſs lay what Taxes he thinks fit upon his Subjects to ſupply the preſſing wants, and relieve the neceſſities of the State. This power indeed he rarely makes uſe of, whether it be that the ſtanding Revenue, and ordinary Taxes are ſufficient to maintain a War abroad; or whether it be that in a Civil-War they are unwilling to run the hazard of provoking their Subjects too much by laying too great a load on them. They have likewiſe a Cuſtom of exempting every year one or two Provinces from bearing their proportion in the Tax, eſpecially if any of them have ſuffered thro' the ſickneſs of the People, or if the Lands

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thro' unſeaſonable weather have not yielded ſo good an encreaſe as uſual.

It is true that the Subſidies which the Laws grant are ſo conſiderable, that were the *Chineſe* leſs induſtrious, or their Lands leſs fruitful, this Empire, like the reſt of the *Indian* Kingdoms, would be only a Society of poor and miſerable Wretches. It is this prodigious Income that makes the Prince ſo powerful, and that enables him at an hours warning to raiſe a Potent and a numerous Army to keep his People in Obedience.

It is very difficult to reckon what the Revenue of this Empire amounts to; becauſe, beſide the mony that is raiſed in Specie, vaſt ſums are paid in in Goods. After the beſt examination which I could get both from the Officers and from their Books, I believe the Treaſury receives in mony about twenty two thouſand Crowns of *China*, which the *Portugueſe* call *taëls*, each of which in our mony comes to about ſix ſhillings. But the Rice, Corn, Salt, Silks, Cloaths, Varniſh, and a hundred other Commodities which they pay in, together with the Cuſtoms and forfeited Eſtates amount to more than fifty millions of the *Chineſe* Crowns. So that after having allowed for the Goods received into the Treaſury their value in Silver, and having made the neareſt and moſt exact Calculation poſſible, I find the ordinary Revenues of the Emperor to amount in our mony to one and twenty millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds at leaſt.

Thirdly, The right of making Peace and War is the Emperors, he may make Treaties on what conditions he pleaſes, provided they be not ſuch as are diſhonourable to the Kingdom. As for the Judgments which he himſelf paſſes they are irrevocable, and to have them put in Execution he need only ſend them to his Sovereign Courts or Vice-Roys, who dare not in the leaſt delay Regiſtring and Publiſhing them.

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When on the other hand the Sentences pronounced by their Parliaments or other Magiſtrates, are no ways obligatory 'till approved and confirmed by the Emperor.

Fourthly, Another inſtance of his Supreme Authority is this, thathe has the liberty of making choice of his Succeſſor, which he may not only chuſe from the Royal Family, but from amongſt his other Subjects. This antient right hath been heretofore put in practiſe with ſo much Impartiality and Wiſdom, as would be admirable even in a Prince who to his other Titles hath that of Moſt Chriſtian. For ſome of theſe Emperors, finding none of their Family, tho' numerous, able to ſupport the weight of a Crown, chuſe for their Succeſſors perſons mean as to their Birth and Fortunes, but eminent for their Virtue, and admirable for their Underſtanding; ſaying that they acted thus not only from a deſire of their Kingdoms good, but alſo out of reſpect to the Honour and Credit of their own Children, for whom it would be more glorious to live privately, than to ſit upon a Throne expoſed to the Cenſure, and oftentimes to the Curſes of all their People. *If*, ſaid they, *a Lofty Title could create Merit in thoſe who had it not before, we ſhould indeed injure our Children in excluding them from the Crown. But ſince it ſerves only to publiſh and ſpread their defects more abroad, we think our ſelves obliged, by the Kindneſs and Tenderneſs which we bear to them, to keep them from that ſhame and diſgrace which a Crown would neceſſarily expoſe them to.*

However, Examples of this Nature have been very ſeldom known, for the Emperors for many Ages have bounded their choice within the Compaſs of their own Families; yet they do not always chuſe the eldeſt. He who now Reigns with ſo much Wiſdom, was a younger Brother; and ſees his elder Brother as dutiful, and free from Ambition as the meaneſt

of

of his Subjects. The great number of Princes of the Blood is with us in *Europe* as great an occasion of Fears and Jealousies, but in *China* it is quite otherwise, for at the death of the last Emperor of *China*, there were above ten thousand Princes up and down the several Provinces, yet was there no confusion or disorder in the least; which could certainly proceed from nothing but the excessive Authority of this Emperor, who finds as little trouble in *China* in Governing a multitude of Princes, as other Princes do in Governing the Common People.

Furthermore, The Emperor after he has made Choice of, and publickly owned who shall be his Successor, may afterwards exclude him, and renew his Choice; but not unless he have very good reason for doing so, nor unless the Sovereign Courts of *Pekin* do in a manner give their consent to it; for if he act thus without observing these methods, it would not only raise the Peoples Tongues, but perhaps their Hands against him.

Fifthly. The Grave itself cannot put an end to his Power over his Subjects, which is exercised even over the Dead, whom he either Disgraces or Honours (as much as if they were alive) when he hath a mind either to Reward or Punish themselves or their Families. He makes some after their decease Dukes, others Counts, and conferring upon them several other Titles which our Language knows no name for. He may Canonise them as Saints, or as they speak, may make them naked Spirits. Sometimes he builds them Temples, and if their Ministry hath been very beneficial, or their Virtues very eminent, he commands the People to honour them as Gods. Paganism hath for many Ages authorised and countenanced this abuse of Religion; yet this reparation Religion has from the Empire of *China* for the forementiond injury, that ever since the Foundation of this Empire, the

the Emperor has been been always looked upon as the Chief Prieſt and Principal Servant of Religion; for there are ſome Ceremonies, and Publick Sacrifices, which he alone is thought worthy to offer up to to the great Creator of Heaven.

Sixthly, There is another Inſtance, which tho' of leſs importance than the preceeding, yet may ſerve as well as them to ſhew how unlimited the Authority of this Emperor is. It is this, the Emperor hath power to change the Figure and Character of their Letters, to aboliſh any Characters already received, or to form any new one. He may likewiſe change the names of Provinces, of Cities, of Families: he may likewiſe forbid the uſing of any expreſſion or manner of ſpeaking, he may forbid the uſe of ſome expreſſions which are generally received, and may bring into uſe and practiſe thoſe ways of ſpeaking which have been looked upon as obſolete and uncouth, and this either in common Diſcourſe or in Writing. So that *Cuſtom* which exerciſes ſo unalterable an Authority over the ſignification of Words, that the *Greek* and *Roman* Powers were too little to ſubdue it, and which for that reaſon hath by ſome been called a fantaſtical and an unjuſt Tyrant, equally commanding both Princes and common People; this Cuſtom, I ſay, of which even in *Europe* we complain ſo much, is ſubmiſſive and humble in *China*, and is content to alter and give way when the Emperor commands.

One would imagine that this unlimited power ſhould often occaſion very unfortunate Events in the Government, and indeed it ſometimes hath, as nothing in this World is without its Alloy of inconvenience. Yet ſo many are the Proviſions, and ſo wiſe the Precautions which the Laws have preſcribed to prevent them, that a Prince muſt be wholly inſenſible of his own Reputation, and even Intereſt, as well

well as of the Publick Good, who continues long in the abuſe of his Authority.

For if he hath any regard for his Reputation, there are three things which will prevail with him to Govern by Juſtice and not Paſſion. Firſt, the old Lawgivers have from the firſt Foundation of the Government made this a ſtanding Maxim, that Kings are properly the Fathers of their People, and not Maſters placed in the Throne only to be ſerved by Slaves. Wherefore it is that in all Ages their Emperor is called Grand-Father, and of all his Titles of Honour, their is none which he likes to be called by ſo well as this *. This Idea of their Prince is ſo deeply imprinted in the minds of his People, and of his Mandarins, that when they make any Panegyrick in the praiſe of their Emperor, it is upon the Topick of his Affection to his People. Their Teachers and their Philoſophers conſtantly ſet forth in their Books that the State is but a large Family, and that he who knows how to Govern the one, is the beſt capable of Ruling the other. So that if the Prince neglects never ſo little the practice of this Maxim, he may be a good Warriour, an able Politician, a learned Prince, and yet meet with little or no eſteem from his People. They do not form their Character of their Prince from theſe or ſuch like qualities, his Reputation encreaſes or diminiſhes with them, in proportion as he is or is not a Father to them.

* *Ta-fou.*

Secondly, Every Mandarin may tell the Emperor of his faults, provided it be in ſuch a ſubmiſſive manner as is agreeable to that veneration and profound reſpect which is due to him; this the manner they uſually take to bring it about. The Mandarin who perceives any thing in the Emperors management diſagreeable to their Conſtitution or Laws, draws up a requeſt, in which, after having ſet forth the reſpect

ſpect which he bears towards his Imperial Majeſty, he moſt humbly prays his Prince that he will pleaſe to reflect upon the Antient Laws and good Example of thoſe holy Princes his Predeceſſors: afterwards he takes notice wherein he apprehends that his Prince hath deviated from them.

This Requeſt lies upon a Table among many other Petitions which are daily preſented, and which the Emperor is obliged to Read: if he does not hereupon change his Conduct, he is put in mind of it again, as often as the Mandarin hath Zeal and Courage to do it, for they had need of a great deal of both who dare venture thus to expoſe themſelves to their Princes indignation.

A little before I arrived at *Pekin*, one who had an Office in that Court, which is appointed for the inſpection into the Mathematicks, had the Courage to adviſe the Emperor in the aforeſaid manner, concerning the Education of the Prince his Son, ſetting forth that inſtead of breeding him up to Learning and Knowledg, his Tutors made it their whole care and endeavour to make him expert in the buſineſs of War, to ſhoot with the Bow, and to manage his Arms. Another let the Emperor know that he went too often from his Palace, and that contrary to the Cuſtoms of the Antient Kings he made too long ſtays in *Tartary*. This Prince who was one of the moſt haughty, as well as the moſt Politick Governours that ever ſat in the Throne, ſeemed to pay ſome deference and reſpect to their Advice. Nevertheleſs, ſince theſe his Journeys into *Tartary* contributed much to the preſerving his Health, the Princes of his Houſhold begged of him to regard that more than the idle whimſies of particular Men.

As for the Mathematician who had troubled himſelf with what did not belong to him, the Education of the Prince, he was turned out of his Office, and

and the reſt of his Fellow-Officers, tho' they had no hand in the buſineſs, were deprived of a years Salary. This method hath been practiſed for a long time in *China*, and their Hiſtories take notice that no means has been found ſo powerful as this to oblige their Emperors, when they act amiſs, to return to their Duty, altho' this means proves often dangerous to thoſe particular perſons who make uſe of it.

Thirdly, If their Princes have any regard for their Reputation, the manner in which their Hiſtories are wrote, is alone ſufficient to keep them within bounds. A certain number of Men who for their Learning and Impartiality are purpoſely choſen for this Affair, remark with all the exactneſs poſſible not only all their Princes Actions but alſo his Words; each of theſe perſons by himſelf, and without Communication with the others, as things fall out ſets them down in a looſe Paper, and puts theſe Papers thro' a Chink into an Office ſet a part for this purpoſe. In theſe Papers both the Emperors Vertues and Faults are ſet down with the ſame liberty and impartiality. *Such a day*, ſay they, *the Princes behaviour was unſeaſonable and intemperate, he ſpoke after a manner which did not become his Dignity. The puniſhment which he inflicted on ſuch an Officer was rather the effect of his Paſſion, than the reſult of his Juſtice. In ſuch an affair he ſtop'd the Sword of Juſtice, and partially abrogated the Sentence paſſed by the Magiſtrates.* Or elſe, *He enter'd Courageouſly into a War for the defence of his People, and for the maintenance of the honour of his Kingdom. At ſuch a time he made an honourable Peace. He gave ſuch and ſuch marks of his love to his People. Notwithſtanding the commendations given him by his Flatterers, he was not puffed up, but behaved himſelf modeſtly, his words were tempered with all the ſweetneſs and humility poſſible; which made him more loved and admired by his Court than ever.* And in this manner

manner they ſet down every thing that occurs in his Adminiſtration.

But that neither fear on the one ſide, nor hope on the other, may byaſs theſe Men to a partiality in the account they give of their Prince: this Office is never opened during that Princes life, or while any of his Family ſit in the Throne. When the Crown goes in another Line, which often happens, all theſe looſe Memoirs are gathered together, and after they have compared them, to come to the more certain knowledg of the Truth, they from them Compoſe the Hiſtory of that Emperor, to propoſe him as an Example to Poſterity, if he have acted wiſely, or to expoſe him to the common Cenſure and Odium of the People, if he have been negligent of his own Duty and his Peoples good. When a Prince loves Honour and Glory, and ſees that it is not in the power of Flattery and Impoſture to perſuade the People to give it him, he will then be circumſpect and cautious how he behaves himſelf during the whole Reign.

Intereſt, which has a far greater command over ſome tempers than the love of Reputation, is as great a motive to the Emperor to be guided by the antient Cuſtoms, and to adhere to the Laws. They are ſo wholly made for his advantage, that he cannot violate them without doing ſome prejudice to his own Authority; nor can he make new and unuſual Laws, without expoſing his Kingdom to the danger of Change and Confuſion. Not that the Grandees of his Court, or his Parliaments, how zealouſly ſoever they may ſeem to aſſert their Antient Cuſtoms, are eaſily provoked to a revolt, or to make uſe of their Princes Government, as an occaſion to diminiſh his Authority. Altho' there are ſome Examples of this in Hiſtory, yet they ſeldom occur, and whenever they do, it is under ſuch Circumſtances as ſeem to go a great way toward their juſtification.

But

But such is the temper of the *Chinese*, that when their Emperor is full of Violence and Passion, or very negligent of his Charge, the same Spirit of Perverseness possesses also his Subjects. Every Mandarin thinks himself the Sovereign of his Province or City, when he does not perceive it taken care of by a Superior Power. The chief Ministers sell Places to those who are unfit to fill them. The Vice-Roys become so many little Tyrants. The Governours observe no more the Rules of Justice. The People by these means oppressed and trampled under foot, and by Consequence miserable, are easily stirred up to Sedition. Rogues multiply and commit Insolencies in Companies; and in a Country where the People are almost innumerable, numerous Armies do in an instant get together, who wait nothing but an opportunity, under specious pretences, to disturb the Publick Peace and Quiet.

Such beginnings as these have occasioned fatal Consequences, and have oftentimes put *China* under the command of new Masters. So that the best and surest way for an Emperor to establish himself in his Throne, is to give an exact regard and an intire obedience to those Laws, whose goodness have been confirmed by the experience of more than four thousand years.

This is the ordinary Form of Government which the Laws prescribe. The Emperor hath two Sovereign Councils; the one is called the Extraordinary Council, and is Composed of Princes of the Blood only; the other, called the Council in Ordinary, has besides the Princes several Ministers of State named *Colaos* admitted into it. These are they who examine all the Affairs of State, and make their report to the Emperor, from whom they have their final determination. Beside these there is at *Pekin* six Sovereign Courts, whose Authority extends over

all the Provinces of *China*, each of these Courts have their different Matters assigned to them, of which they are to take Cognisance: the Names of them, and what is committed to their judgment, are as follows.

The Court called *Liipou*, presides over all the Mandarins, and does give them, and take away from them their Offices. That called *Houpou* looks after the Treasury, and takes care of raising the Taxes. That called *Lipou* is to look after the Antient Customs; to this Court is also committed the care of Religion, of Sciences and Arts, and of Foreign Affairs. That called *Pimpou* has charge over the Soldiery and its Officers. That called *Himpou* takes Cognisance of all Criminals. That called *Compou* looks after all Publick Buildings, and all the Emperors Houses and Palaces. Each of these Courts are divided in several Offices, some of them into fifteen; the Principal of which Offices is managed by the President and two Assistants, who have the final inspection into those things which come under the notice of that Court; the rest are Under-Offices, and consist of a President and several Councellors, all of which are subject to the President of the Principal Office, from whom there is no Appeal.

But because it is the Emperors Interest to keep such considerable Bodies as these so far under, as that it may not lie in their power to weaken the Emperors Authority, or to enterprise any thing against the State; care is taken that tho' each of these six Courts have their particular Charges of which they are constituted sole Judges, yet no considerable thing can be brought to perfection and maturity without the joynt help and mutual concurrence of all these Courts; I explain my self by the instance of War: the number of the Troops, the quality of their Officers, the march of the Armies, are provided for by the fourth Court,

Court, but the mony to pay them muſt be had from the ſecond. So that ſcarce any one thing of Conſequence to the State can be promoted without the inſpection of many, and oftimes of all the Mandarins.

The ſecond means uſed by the Emperor, for this purpoſe, is to place an Officer in each of theſe Courts, who has an Eye to all their proceedings. He is not, it's true, of the Council, yet he is preſent at all their Aſſemblies, and informed of all their Proceedings; we may call this Officer an Inſpector. He either privately advertiſes the Court, or elſe openly accuſes the Mandarins of the faults which they commit in their private capacities as well as of thoſe which they commit in the Execution of their Office. He obſerves their Actions, their Behaviour, and even their Words, ſo that nothing eſcapes his notice. I am told that he who once undertakes this Employ can never quit it for any other, that ſo the hopes of a better Preferment may never tempt him to be Partial to any one, nor the fear of looſing his Place frighten him from accuſing thoſe who misbehave themſelves. Of theſe Officers whom they call *Colis* even the Princes of the Blood ſtand in awe; and I remember that one of the greateſt of the Nobility having built a Houſe ſomewhat higher than the Cuſtom of *China* ſuffers, did of himſelf pull it down in a few days, when he had heard that one of theſe Inſpectors talked of accuſing him.

As for the Provinces they are under the immediate inſpection of two ſorts of Vice-Roys. One ſort has the Government of one Province only. Thus there is one Vice-Roy at *Pekin*, at *Canton*, or at *Nankim*, or in any other Town but a little diſtant from the chief City of the Province. Beſides this, theſe Provinces are under the Government of other Vice-Roys, who are called *Tſeunto*, and have under their Juriſdicti-

on two, or three, nay ſometimes four Provinces. There is no Prince in *Europe* whoſe Dominions are of ſo large extent as is the Juriſdiction of theſe General Officers; yet how great ſoever their Authority may ſeem to be, they do in no wiſe diminiſh that of the particular Vice-Roys; and each of theſe two Vice-Roys have their particular Right ſo well ſettled and adjuſted, that they never claſh or contend with each other in their Adminiſtrations.

Theſe have all of them in their ſeveral Lordſhips many Courts, of the ſame nature with thoſe at *Pekin* already deſcribed, but are ſubordinate to them, ſo that from theſe they Appeal to them: there are beſide theſe ſeveral other inferior Offices for the preparing buſineſs, or for finiſhing it according to the extent of their Commiſſions. There are three ſorts of Towns, each of which have their particular Governour, and a great number of Mandarins who Adminiſter Juſtice; amongſt which Cities there is this difference, that thoſe of the third ſort or rank are ſubordinate to thoſe of the ſecond, as thoſe of the ſecond are to them of the firſt; theſe of the firſt Rank are ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the General Officers of the Capital Cities, according as the nature of things require, and all the Judges, be their quality what it will in the Civil Government, have their dependance on the Vice-Roy, in whom reſides the Imperial Authority. He from time to time convenes the Principal Mandarins of his Province, to take Cogniſance of the good or bad Qualities of the Governours, Lieutenants, and even inferior Officers: he ſends private Diſpatches to Court to inform the Emperor who misbehave themſelves, who are either therefore deprived of their Offices, or elſe cited to appear and offer what they have to ſay in their juſtification.

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On the other hand the Vice-Roy's power is counterpoiſed by that of the great Mandarins who are about him, and who may accuſe him when they are ſatisfied that it is neceſſary for the Publick Good. But that which principally keeps him upon his Guard is that the People, when evil entreated or oppreſſed by him, may Petition the Emperor in perſon for his removal, and that another may be ordered them. The leaſt Inſurrection or Diſturbance is laid at his door, which if it continues three days he muſt anſwer for it at his peril. It is his fault, ſays the Laws, if Diſturbances ſpring up in his Family, that is in the Province over which he has the Charge. He ought to regulate the Conduct of the Mandarins under him, that ſo the People may not ſuffer by their ill management. When People like their Maſters they do not deſire to change them; and when the Yoak is eaſie it is a pleaſure to bear it.

But becauſe private perſons cannot eaſily come at the Court, and becauſe the juſt Complaints of his People, cannot always reach the Ears of their Prince, (eſpecially in *China* where the Governours eaſily corrupt with Bribes the General Officers, and they the Supreme Courts;) the Emperor diſperſes up and down ſecret Spies, perſons of known Wiſdom and Reputation; theſe in every Province by their cunning management, inform themſelves from the Countrymen, Tradeſmen or others, after what manner the Mandarins behave themſelves in the Execution of their Offices. When from their private but certain informations, or rather when by the Publick Voice, which ſeldom impoſes on us, they are acquainted with any diſorder. Then they publickly own their Commiſſion from the Emperor; they take up thoſe Criminal Mandarins, and manage the Cauſe againſt them. This heretofore kept all the Judges to their Duty; but ſince the *Tartars* have been Maſters of *China*, theſe

Officers have been laid aside; in as much as some of them abused their Commission, enriching themselves by taking money of the Guilty to conceal their Faults, and of the Innocent, whom they threatned to accuse as Criminal. Nevertheless, that so useful a means of keeping the Magistrates to their Duty may not be wholly lost: the Emperor himself, who has a tender love for his Subjects, hath thought it his Duty to visit in person each Province, and to hear himself the Complaints of his People; which he performs with such a diligence as makes him the terror of his Mandarins, and the delight of his People. Amongst the great variety of Accidents which have happened to him during those his Progresses, they report that being once separated from his Attendants, he saw an old Man weeping bitterly, of whom he enquired what was the occasion of his Tears. Sir, Said the old Man who did not know to whom he spoke, I have but one Son who was the comfort of my life, and on whom lay the whole care of my Family, a Mandarin of *Tartary* has deprived me of him; which hath made me helpless at present, and will make me so as long as I live; for how can I, who am so poor and friendless, oblige so great a Man as he to make me Restitution? That's not so difficult as you imagine, said the Emperor; get up behind me and direct me to his House who has done you this wrong. The good Man complied without any Ceremony, and in two hours time they both got to the Mandarins House, who little expected so extraordinary a Visit. In the interim the Guards, and a great company of Lords, after a great deal of search made came thither, some of which attended without, others entered with the Emperor, not knowing what the business was which brought him there. Where the Emperor having Convicted the Mandarin of the Violence of which he was accused, condemn'd him on the spot to death;

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afterward turning round to the afflicted Father who had loſt his Son: To make you a good recompence for your loſs, ſays he, after a grave and ſerious manner, I give you the Office of the Criminal who is juſt now dead; but take care to Execute it with Equity, and let his Puniſhment, as well as his Crime, prove for your Advantage, for fear leſt you in your turn are made an Example to others.

They have ſtill a farther means to oblige the Vice-Roys and other Governours to a ſtrict care of their Charge, which Expedient I do not believe any Government or Kingdom, tho' never ſo ſevere, did ever yet make uſe of. It is this, every Governour is obliged from time to time with all humility and ſincerity to own and acknowledg the ſecret or publick Faults committed by himſelf in his Adminiſtration, and to ſend the account in writing up to Court. This is a more troubleſome buſineſs to comply with than one readily imagins, for on one ſide it is an uneaſie thing to accuſe our ſelves of thoſe things which we know will be puniſhed by the Emperor, tho' mildly. On the other ſide it is more dangerous to diſſemble them; for if by chance they are accuſed of them in the Inſpector's Advertiſement, the leaſt Fault which the Mandarin ſhall have concealed will be big enough to turn him out of his Miniſtry. So that the beſt way is to make a ſincere confeſſion of ones Faults, and to purchaſe a Pardon for them by mony, which in *China* has the vertue of blotting out all Crimes, which remedy notwithſtanding is no ſmall puniſhment for a *Chineſe*; the fear of ſuch a puniſhment makes him oftimes exceeding Circumſpect and careful, and ſometimes even Virtuous againſt his own inclinations.

After theſe Proviſions which the Laws-make, as I have ſaid, they give the following directions how to proceed in the buſineſs of puniſhing Criminals.

There is no need of having a Warrant to carry them before the Magistrate, nor that the Magistrate should sit in a Court of Justice to hear the Accusation and Plea of the Criminal. Such Formalities as these are not insisted on there. Wherever the Magistrate sees a Fault, there he has power to punish it on the spot, be it in the Street, in the Highway, or in a private House, it is all one; he may take up a Gamester, a Rook, or a Debauché, and without more Formalities he orders some of his Attendants to give him twenty or thirty Stripes: after which, as tho' nothing extraordinary had happened he goes on his Journey without any concernment. Notwithstanding this punishment, the person damaged may accuse the same Criminal again in a Superior Court, where he is tryed, the result of which is usually a farther punishment.

Farther, the Plaintiff may in common Cases bring his Action in any Higher Magistrates Court, even before it has been pleaded in an Inferior Court. I mean, an Inhabitant of a Town of the third Rank may forthwith apply himself to the Governour of the Capital City of the Province, or even to the Vice-Roy, without having it examined before the Governour of his own Town; and when it once comes before a Superior Judge, the Inferior ones may not take Cognizance of it, unless it be deputed to them by those Superior Judges, as it often is. When the Cause is of great Consequence, there lies an Appeal from the Vice-Roy to one of the Supreme Courts at *Pekin*, according to the nature of the Affair, where the Cause is examined in one of the under Offices, who make their report to the President of the Supreme Office, who gives Sentence after he has advised with his Assistants, and Communicated his Opinion to the *Colaos* who carry it to the Emperor. Sometimes the Emperor desires better information, sometimes gives Sentence on the spot, and in his name the Supreme Court

Court makes a brief of the Sentence, and ſends it to the Vice-Roys for them to put it in Execution. A Sentence pronounced in this manner is irrevocable, they call it the holy Commandment; that is to ſay the Commandment, which is without defect or partiality.

You will think it doubtleſs an inconceivable thing, that a Prince ſhould have time to examin himſelf the Affairs of ſo vaſt an Empire as is that of *China*. But beſides that Wars and Foreign Negotiations never ſpend his time, which in *Europe* is almoſt the ſole buſineſs of the Councils, beſides this, I ſay, their Affairs are ſo well digeſted and ordered, that he can with half an Eye ſee to which Party he ought to incline in his Sentence, and this becauſe their Laws are ſo plain that they leave no room for intricacy or diſpute. So that two hours a day is time enough for that Prince to Govern himſelf an Empire of that extent, that were there other Laws might find Employment for thirty Kings. So true is it that the Laws of *China*, are wiſe, plain, well underſtood, and exactly adequate to the particular Genius and Temper of that Nation.

To give your Eminence a general Notion of this, I ſhall think it ſufficient to remark to You three things, which are exceeding conducive to the Publick Peace, and are as it were the very Soul of the Government. The firſt is the Moral Principles which are inſtilled into the People. The ſecond is the Political Rules which are ſet up in every Thing. The third is the Maxims of good Policy which are, or ought to be every where obſerved.

The firſt Moral Principle reſpects private Families, and injoyns Children ſuch a Love, Obedience, and Reſpect for their Parents, that neither the ſeverity of their treatment, the impertinency of their old Age, or the meanneſs of their Rank, when the Children have

have met with Preferment, can ever efface. One can't imagin to what a degree of Perfection this first Principle of Nature is improved. There is no Submission, no point of Obedience which the Parents can't command, or which the Children can refuse. These Children are obliged to comfort them when alive, and continually to bewail them when dead. They Prostrate themselves a thousand times before their dead Bodies, offer them Provisions, as tho' they were yet alive, to signifie that all their Goods belong to them, and that from the bottom of their Heart they wish them in a Capacity to enjoy them. They bury them with a Pomp and Expence which to us would seem extravagant, they pay constantly at their Tombs a Tribute of Tears, which Ceremonies they often perform even to their Pictures, which they keep in their Houses with all imaginable care, which they honour with Offerings, and with as due a respect as they would their Parents were they yet alive. Their Kings themselves are not excused this piece of Duty, and the present Emperor has been observant of it, not only to his Predecessors of his own Family, but even to those who were not. For one day when in Hunting he perceived a far off the magnificent Monument which his Father had erected for *Tçoumtchin*, the last *Chinese* Emperor, who lost his Life and Crown in a Rebellion, he ran to the place, and fell on his Knees before the Tomb, and even wept, and in a great concern for his misfortune: O *Prince!* says he, O *Emperor worthy of a better fate! you know that your destruction is no ways owing to us; your death lies not at our door, your Subjects brought it upon you. It was them that betrayed you. It is upon them, and not on my Ancestors, that Heaven must send down vengeance for this act.* Afterward he ordered Flambeaus to be lit, and Incense to be offered. During all which time he fixed his Countenance on the

the ground, and aroſe not till all theſe Ceremonies were over.

The ordinary term of Mourning is three years, during which time the Mourner can exerciſe no Publick Office. So that a Mandarin is obliged to forſake his Employ, and a Miniſter of State his Office, to ſpend all that time in grief. If a Father be honoured after his death as a God, to be ſure he is obeyed in his Family like a Prince, over whom he exerciſes a Deſpotick Power; as abſolute Maſter not only of his Eſtate which he diſtributes to whom he pleaſes, but alſo of his Concubines and Children, of whom he diſpoſes with that liberty and power that he may ſell them to Strangers when their behaviour diſpleaſes him. If a Father accuſes his Son of any Crime before a Mandarin, there needs no proof of it; its ſuppoſed to be true that the Son is in the Fault if the Father be diſpleaſed. This Paternal power is of that extent, that there is no Father but may take his Sons life away, if he will ſtick to his Accuſation. When we ſeemed amazed at this proceedure, we were anſwered: who underſtands the merit of the Son better than the Father, who has brought him up, Educated him, and ſuch a long time obſerved all his Actions? And again, can any perſon have a greater Love, or a more ſincere Affection for him? If therefore he who knows his Caſe exactly, and loves him tenderly, Condemns him, how can we pronounce him guiltleſs and innocent? And when we objected that ſome perſons have an inbred diſlike of others, and that Fathers who were Men, as well as Fathers, were capable of ſuch antipathies againſt ſome of their Children; they anſwered, that Men were not more unnatural than Savage Beaſts, the cruelleſt of which never deſtroyed their young ones for a Frolick; but ſuppoſing there be ſuch Monſters among Men, their Children by their modeſty and ſweetneſs of temper

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muſt tame and ſoften them. But after all, ſay they, the love of their Children is ſo deeply imprinted in the Hearts of Parents, that antipathy, or diſlike, unleſs provoked and inflamed by the undutiful ſtubborneſs and diſorderly behaviour of their Children, can never eraſe.

If it ſhould happen that a Son ſhould be ſo inſolent as to mock his Parents, or arrive to that hight of fury and madneſs as to lay violent hands on them; it is the whole Empires concern, and the Province where this horrible Violence is committed is allarmed. The Emperor himſelf judges the Criminal. All the Mandarins near the place are turned out, eſpecially thoſe of that Town, who have been ſo negligent in their Inſtructions. The Neighbours are all reprimanded for neglecting, by former Puniſhments, to ſtop the iniquity of this Criminal before it came to this hight, for they ſuppoſe that ſuch a Diabolical temper as this muſt needs have ſhewed it ſelf on other Occaſions, ſince its hardly poſſible to attain to ſuch a pitch of iniquity at once. As for the Criminal there is no Puniſhment which they think too ſevere. They cut him into a thouſand pieces, burn him, deſtroy his Houſe to the ground, and even thoſe Houſes which ſtand near it, and ſet up Monuments and Memorials of this ſo horrible an inſolence.

Even the Emperors themſelves can't reject the Authority of their Parents without running the riſque of ſuffering for it; and Hiſtory tells us a Story which will always make the Affection which the *Chineſe* have to this Duty appear admirable. One of the Emperors had a Mother who managed a private Intreague with one of the Lords of the Court; the notice which was publickly taken of it, obliged the Emperor to ſhew his reſentment of it, both for his own honour and that of the Empire: ſo that he baniſhed her into a far diſtant Province; and becauſe he knew that

that this Action would not be very acceptable to his Princes and Mandarins, he forbad them all, under pain of death, giving him advice therein. They were all silent for some time, hoping that of himself he would condemn his own Conduct in that Affair; but seeing that he did not, they resolved to appear in it, rather than suffer so pernicious a Precedent.

The first who had the Courage to put up a request to the Emperor in this matter was put to death on the spot. His death put not a stop to the Mandarins proceedings; for a day or two after another made his appearance, and to shew all the World that he was willing to Sacrifice his life for the Publick, he ordered his Hearse to stand at the Palace Gate. The Emperor minded not this generous Action, but was the rather more provoked at it. He not only sentenced him to death, but to terrifie all others from following his Example, he ordered him to be put to the Torture. One would not think it Prudence to hold out longer. The *Chinese* were of another mind, for they resolved to fall one after another rather than basely to pass over in silence so base an Action.

There was therefore a third who devoted himself. He, like the second, ordered his Coffin to be set at the Palace Gate, and protested to the Emperor that he was not able any longer to see him still guilty of his Crime. *What shall we lose by our death,* says he, *nothing but the sight of a Prince, upon whom we can't look without amazement and horror. Since you will not hear us, we will go and seek out yours and the Empress your Mothers Ancestors. They will hear our complaints, and perhaps in the dark and silence of the night you will hear ours and their Ghosts reproach you with your Injustice.*

The Emperor being more enraged than ever at this Insolence, as he called it, of his Subjects, inflicted on this last the severest Torments he could devise.

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Many others encouraged by these Examples, exposed themselves to Torment, and did in effect dye the Martyrs of Filial Duty, which they stood up for with the last drop of their blood. At last this Heroic Constancy wearied out the Emperor's Cruelty; and whether he was afraid of more dangerous Consequences, or was himself convinced of his own Fault; he Repented, as he was the Father of his People, that he had so unworthily put to death his Children; and as a Son of the Empress he was troubled that he had so long misused his Mother. He recalled her therefore, restored her to her former Dignity, and after that the more he honoured her, the more was he himself honoured of his Subjects.

The second Moral Principle which obtains among them, is to honour their Mandarins as they would the Emperor himself, whose Person the Mandarins represent. To retain this Credit the Mandarins never appear in Publick without a Retinue, and Face of Grandeur that commands Respect. They are always carried in a magnificent Chair open, before them go all the Officers of their Courts, and round them are carried all the marks and badges of their Dignity. The People, wherever they come, open to the right and left to let them pass thro'. When they Administer Justice in their Palaces, no body speaks to them but on their Knees, be they of what Quality they will, and since they can at any time command any persons to be whipped, no one comes near them without trembling.

Heretofore when any Mandarin took a Journey, all the Inhabitants of the Towns thro' which he passed ran in a croud to meet him, and profer their Services, conducting him with all Solemnity thro' their Territory: now when he leaves his Office which he has Administred to the satisfaction of all Men, they give him such marks of honour, as would

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engage the moſt ſtupid to the love of Virtue and Juſtice. When he is taking his leave in order to lay down his Office, almoſt all the Inhabitants go in the Highways, and place themſelves ſome here, ſome there for almoſt fourteen or fifteen Miles together. So that every where in the Road one ſees Tables handſomly painted, with Satin Table-Cloaths, covered with Sweet-meats, Tea and other Liquors.

Every one almoſt conſtrains him to ſtay, to ſit down and eat or drink ſomething. When he leaves one, another ſtops him, and thus he ſpends the whole day among the Applauſes and Acclamations of his People. And, which is an odd thing, every one deſires to have ſomething which comes from off him. Some take his Boots, others his Cap, ſome his great Coat; but they who take any thing, give him another of the ſame ſort, and before he is quit of this multitude, it ſometimes happens that he has had thirty different pairs of Boots on.

Then he hears himſelf called publick Benefactor, the preſerver and Father of his People. They bewail the loſs of him with wet Eyes; and a Mandarin muſt be very inſenſible indeed, if he does not in his turn ſhed a Tear or two, when he ſees ſuch tender marks of Affection. For the Inhabitants are not obliged to ſhew him this Reſpect, and when they do not like the Adminiſtration of a Governor, they ſhew themſelves as indifferent at his departure, as they do affectionate and ſorry at the loſs of a good one.

The extraordinary reſpect which Children pay to their Parents, and People to their Governors, is the greateſt means of preſerving quietneſs in their Families, and Peace in their Towns; I am perſuaded that all the good Order, in which we ſee ſo mighty a People, flows from theſe two Springs.

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The third Principle of Morality eſtabliſhed among them is this, that it is very neceſſary that all People ſhould obſerve toward each other the ſtricteſt Rules of Modeſty and Civility, that they ſhould behave themſelves ſo obligingly and complaiſantly, that all their Actions may have a mixture of ſweetneſs and courteſie in them. This, ſay they, is that which makes the diſtinction between Man and Beaſt, or between the *Chineſe* and other Men: they pretend alſo that the diſturbance of ſeveral Kingdoms is owing to the rough and unpoliſhed Temper of their Subjects. For thoſe Tempers which fly out into Rudeneſs and Paſſion, perpetually embroiled in Quarrels, which uſe neither reſpect nor Complaiſance toward any, are fitted to be Incendiaries and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace. On the contrary, People who Honour and Reſpect each other, who can ſuffer an Injury, and diſſemble or ſtifle it; who religiouſly obſerve that difference which either Age, Quality, or Merit have made; a People of this ſtamp are naturally lovers of Order, and when they do amiſs it is not without Violence to their own Inclinations.

The *Chineſe* are ſo far from neglecting the Practice of this Maxim, that in ſeveral Inſtances they carry it on too far. No ſort of Men are excuſed from it; Tradeſmen, Servants, nay even Countrymen have their ways of expreſſing Kindneſs and Civility to one another; I have often been amaſed to ſee Footmen take their leave of each other on their Knees, and Farmers in their Entertainments uſe more Complements and Ceremonies than we do at our publick Treats. Even the Seamen, who from their manner of living, and from the Air they breath, draw in naturally Roughneſs, do yet bear to each other a love like that of Brothers, and pay that deference to one another, that one would think them united by the ſtraiteſt bands of friendſhip.

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The State, which has always, in Policy, accounted this as moſt conducive to the quiet of the Empire, has appointed forms of Salutation, of Viſiting, of making Entertainments, and of writing Letters. The uſual way of Salutation is to lay your Hands croſs your Breaſt, and bow your Head a little. Where you would ſtill ſhow a greater Reſpect, you muſt joyn your Hands together, and carry them almoſt to the ground, bowing your whole Body; if you paſs by a Perſon of Eminent Quality, or receive ſuch an one into your Houſe, you muſt bend one Knee, and remain in that Poſture 'till he whom you thus Salute takes you up, which he always does immediately. But when a Mandarin appears in publick, it would be a Criminal ſaucineſs to Salute him in any ſort of Faſhion, unleſs you have occaſion to ſpeak to him: you muſt ſtep aſide a little, and holding your Eyes on the ground, and your Arms croſs your Sides, ſtay till he be gone paſt you.

Altho' very familiar Acquaintance make Viſits without any Ceremony, yet for thoſe Friends who are not ſo, Cuſtom has preſcribed a ſet form of Viſiting. The Viſiter ſends his Servant before with a piece of red Paper, on which is wrote his own name, and a great many marks of Reſpect to the Perſon he Viſits, according as his Dignity or Quality is. When this meſſage is received, the Viſitor comes in, and meets with a reception anſwerable to his Merit. The Perſon viſited ſometimes ſtays for the Viſitor in the Hall, without going out to meet him, or if he be of a much Superior Quality without riſing from his Seat: ſometimes he meets the Viſitor at his Door; ſometimes he goes out into the Court-yard, and ſometimes even into the Street to bring him in. When they come into view, they both run and make a low Bow. They ſay but little, their Complements are in form, one knows what he muſt ſay, and the other

how he must answer; they never beat their Brains, like us, to find out new Complements, and fine Phrases. At every Gate they make a halt where the Ceremonies begin afresh, and the Bows are renewed to make each go first; they use but two ways of speaking on this Occasion, which are *Tsin*; that is, *pray be pleased to enter*, and *Poukan, it must not be.* Each of them repeats his word four or five times, and then the Stranger suffers himself to be perswaded, and goes on to the next Door, where the same thing begins anew.

When they come to the Room where they are to stay, they stand near the Door in a row, and every one bows almost to the ground; then follow the Ceremonies of kneeling, and going on this or that side to give the right Hand, then the Chairs are saluted (for they have their Complements paid them as well as the Men, they rub them to take all Dust away; and bow in a respective manner to them) then follow the Contentions about the first Place; yet all this makes no Confusion. Use has made it natural to the *Chinese*, they know before what themselves, and what others are to do, every one stays till the others have done in their order what is expected, so that there happens no Confusion or Disturbance.

It must be owned that this is a great piece of Fatigue, and after so many Motions and different Postures in which they spend a quarter of an hour before they are to sit down; it must be own'd they have need enough of rest. The Chairs are set so that every Body sits opposite to one another; when you are sate, you must sit straight, not lean back, your Eyes must look downward, your Hands must be stretched on your Knees, your Feet even, not across, with a grave and composed behaviour, not be overforward to speak. The *Chinese* think that a Visit consists not in mutual Converse so much as in outward Comple-

Complement and Ceremony, and in *China* the Visitor may truly and properly say he comes to pay his Respects, for oftimes there is more honours paid than words spoken.

A Missionary did aver to me that a Mandarin made him a Visit, in which he spoke never a word to him. This is always certain that they never overheat themselves with discoursing, for one may generally say of them that they are Statues or Figures placed in a Theatre for Ornament, they have so little of Discourse and so much of Gravity.

Their Speech is mighty submissive and humble, you will never hear them say, for Example, *I am obliged to you for the favour you have done me*, but thus, *The favour which my Lord, which my Instructer has granted to me, who am little in his Eyes*; or *who am his Disciple, has extremely obliged me.* Again, they dont say, *I make bold to present you with a few Curiosities of my Country*; but *The Servant takes the liberty to offer to his Lord a few Curiosities which came from his mean and vile Country.* Again, not *Whatsoever comes from your Kingdom or Province is well worked*; but *Whatsoever comes from the precious Kingdom, the noble Province of the Lord is extraordinary fine, and exceeding well wrought.* In like manner in all other Cases, they never say I or You in the first or second Person? but *me your Servant, me your Disciple, me your Subject.* And instead of saying *You*, they say *the Doctor said, the Lord did, the Emperor appointed.* It would be a great piece of Clownishness to say otherwise, unless to our Servants.

During the Visit the Tea goes round two or three times, where you must use a Ceremony when you take the Dish, when you carry it to your Mouth, or when you return it to the Servant. When you depart it is with the same Ceremonies with which you came in, and you conclude the Comedy with the same

Expence you began it. Strangers are very uncouth at playing their parts herein, and make great blunders. The reaſonable part of the *Chineſe* ſmile at them and excuſe them; others take exceptions at it, and deſire them to learn and practice before they venture in publick For this reaſon they allow Ambaſſadors forty days to prepare for their Audience of the Emperor; and for fear they ſhould miſs any Ceremony, they ſend them, during the time allowed, Maſters of the Ceremonies, who teach them, and make them practice.

Their Feaſts are ceremonious even beyond what you can imagin, you would think they are not invited to eat, but to make Grimaces. Not a mouthful of Meat is eat, or a drop of Wine drank but it coſts an hundred Faces. They have, like our Conſorts of Muſick, an Officer who beats time, that the Gueſts may all together in Concord take their Meat on their Plates, and put it into their Mouths, and lift up their little Inſtruments of Wood, which ſerve inſtead of a Fork, or put them again in their places in Order. Every Gueſt has a peculiar Table, without Table-Cloath, Napkin, Knife or Spoon; for every thing is ready cut to their Hands, and they never touch any thing but with two little wooden Inſtruments tipped with Silver, which the *Chineſe* handle very dexterouſly, and which ſerve them for an Univerſal Inſtrument.

They begin their Feaſts with drinking Wine, which is given to every Gueſt at one and the ſame time in a ſmall Cup of *China* or Silver, which Cup all the Gueſts take hold of with both Hands: every one lifts his Veſſel as high as his Head, preſenting their Service thereby to one another without ſpeaking, and inviting each other to drink firſt. It is enough if you hold the Cup to your Mouth only without drinking during the time while the reſt drink; for if the outward

ward Ceremonies are obſerved and kept, it is all one to them whether you drink or not.

After the firſt Cup, they ſet upon every Table a great Veſſel of haſh'd Meat, or Ragoo. Then every one obſerves the motions of the Maſter of the Feaſt, who directs the Actions of his Gueſts. According as he gives the ſign, they take their two little Inſtruments, brandiſh them in the Air, and as it were Preſent them, and after Exerciſing them after twenty Faſhions which I can't expreſs, they ſtrike them into the Diſh, from whence they cleaverly bring up a piece of Meat, which muſt be eat neither too haſtily nor too ſlowly, ſince it would be a rudeneſs either to eat before others or to make them ſtay for you. Then again they exerciſe their little Inſtruments, which at length they place on the Table in that poſture wherein they were at the firſt. In all this you muſt obſerve time, that all may begin and end at once.

A little after comes the Wine again, which is drank with all the Ceremonies aforeſaid. Then comes a ſecond Meſs, which they dip into as into the firſt, and thus the Feaſt is continued until the end, drinking between every mouthful, 'till there have been twenty or four and twenty different Plates of Meat at every Table, which makes them drink off as many Cups of Wine; but we muſt obſerve that, beſides that I have ſaid that they drink as much or as little as they will at a time, their Wine Cups are very little, and their Wine is ſmall.

When all the Diſhes are ſerved, which are done with all imaginable Order, no more Wine is brought, and the Gueſts may be a little more free with their Meat, taking indifferently out of any of theſe Diſhes before them, which yet muſt be done when the reſt of the Gueſts take out of ſome of their Diſhes, for Uniformity and Order is always Sacred. At this

time they bring Rice and Bread, for as yet nothing but Meat has been brought; they bring likewiſe fine Broths made of Fleſh or Fiſh, in which the Gueſts, if they think fit, may mingle their Rice.

They ſit at Table ſerious, grave, and ſilent, for three or four hours together. When the Maſter of the Houſe ſees they have all done eating, he gives the ſign to riſe, and they go aſide for a quarter of an hour into the Hall or Garden to entertain and divert themſelves. Then they come again to Table, which they find ſet out with all ſorts of ſweetmeats, and dryed Fruits, which they keep to drink with their Tea.

Theſe Cuſtoms ſo ſtrictly enjoyned, and ſo extremely troubleſome, which muſt be performed from one end to the other of the Feaſt, keeps all the Gueſts from eating, who do not find themſelves Hungry 'till they ariſe from the Table. Then they have a great mind to go and Dine at Home; but a Company of Strolers come and play over a Comedy, which is ſo tedious that it wearies one as much as that before at the Table did. Nor is tediouſneſs the only fault, for they are commonly very dull and very noiſie, no Rules are obſerved, ſometimes they Sing, ſometimes bawl, and ſometimes howl, for the *Chineſe* have little skill in making Declamations. Yet you muſt not laugh at this folly, but all the while admire at the Politeneſs of *China*, at its Ceremonies, Inſtituted, as they ſay, by the Diſcretion of the Antients, and ſtill kept up by the Wiſdom of the Moderns.

The Letters which are wrote from one to another, are as remarkable for their Civilities and Ceremonies, which are as many and as myſterious as the others. They dont write in the ſame manner as they ſpeak; the bigneſs of the Characters, the diſtances between the Lines, the innumerable Titles of Honour given to the ſeveral Qualities of Perſons, the

the ſhape of the Paper, the number of red, white or blew Covers for the Letter, according to the Perſons conditon, and an hundred other Formalities puzzle ſometimes the Brain of the moſt underſtanding men amongſt them, for there is ſcarce any one who is Secretary enough to write and ſend one of their Letters as it ought to be.

There are a thouſand other Rules practiſed by the better ſort in ordinary Converſation, which you muſt obſerve, unleſs you would be accounted a Clown; and tho' in a thouſand Inſtances theſe things favour more of a ridiculous affectation than of real politeneſs, no one can deny nevertheleſs but that theſe Cuſtoms, which People obſerve ſo exactly, do inſpire into them a ſweetneſs of Temper, and a love of Order. Theſe three Moral Principles, that is, The Reſpect which Children pay their Parents, The Veneration which all pay the Emperor and his Officers, and The mutual Humility and Courteſie of all People, work their effect the better, becauſe ſupported by a wiſe and well underſtood Policy. The Principle Maxims of which are, my Lord, as follow.

The firſt is, never to give any one an Office in his own Province, and that for two Reaſons: becauſe, firſt, a Mandarin of ordinary Parentage is uſually deſpiſed by thoſe who know his Family. Secondly, becauſe being brought into favour and repute, by the great number of his kindred and Friends, he might be enabled either to make, or at leaſt to ſupport a Rebellion, or at leaſt it would be very difficult for him to execute Juſtice with an Univerſal impartiality.

The ſecond Maxim, is to retain at Court the Children of the Mandarins imployed in the moſt conſiderable Offices in the Province, under pretence indeed of educating them well, but in reality keeping them as Hoſtages, leaſt their Fathers ſhould fall from that Duty which they owe the Emperor.

The third Maxim, is that when one goes to Law, ſuch a Commiſſary is made uſe of as the Emperor pleaſes to name, unleſs the Office or Quality of the Criminal gives him the liberty to refuſe him. If the Emperor diſlikes the firſt Sentence, he may Commiſſion new Judges to re-examine it until the Sentence be agreeable to his mind. For otherwiſe it would be in the power of Mony, or of Artifice to ſave a Man whoſe life would be noxious to the good of the State. On the other ſide, ſay they, we need not fear the Princes Paſſion, who if he have a mind to take off a good Man may find ways enough to do it without going ſo openly about it. But it is but fitting that there ſhould be a means efficacious enough to rid the Empire of an ill Man.

The fourth Maxim of Policy is never to ſell any Place, but to beſtow it always upon Merit; that is to thoſe of good life, and who by a diligent Study have acquainted themſelves with the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Country. To this end Informations are exhibited of the life and manners of the Candidate, eſpecially when a Mandarin is removed from an Inferior to a Superior Office; as for their Underſtanding the Laws, they undergo ſo many Examinations and Tryals of it, that it is impoſſible for an ignoramus to be thought underſtanding, ſo ſevere are the meaſures which they take.

When they reſolve to ſet a Child apart to Learning, they put him to a Maſter, for the Towns of *China* are full of Schools, where Reading and Writing are taught, which to learn well will take up ſome years. When the Youth has made a pretty good progreſs in this, he is preſented to a Mandarin of the lower Order to be examined. If he writes a good Hand, and makes their Characters handſomly, he is admitted among thoſe who apply themſelves to the knowledge of Books, and endeavour to obtain a degree.

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Of which there are three ſorts which anſwer to our Bachelour, Maſter of Arts, and Doctor. As the fortunes of the *Chineſe* do wholly depend upon their Capacity and Underſtanding, ſo they ſpend their whole life in Study. They ſay by Heart all their Staple Books with a wonderful alacrity, they make Comments on their Laws: Compoſition, Eloquence, Imitation and Knowledge of their antient Doctors, and the delicacy and politeneſs of the modern ones, from ſix to ſixty are their conſtant employ. In ſome the quickneſs and readineſs of Wit ſaves them a great deal of Labour, for ſome have been Doctors at an Age when others can write but indifferently; but theſe are Hero's amongſt the *Chineſe*, of which one in an Age is enough.

The Examinations are ſtrict, Maſters of Arts are created by the Principal Mandarins of the Province; Bachelours by thoſe Mandarins aſſiſted by a Commiſſary from Court; as for Doctors they Commence only at *Pekin*: but becauſe ſome who deſerve this Degree, have not wherewith to defray ſo expenſive a Journy, what is neceſſary for it, is beſtowed on them gratis, that ſo poverty may not deprive the State of the Service of thoſe Men who may prove uſeful and beneficial to it.

Every ones Character is taken from his ability to Invent or Compoſe. For this purpoſe the Candidates are ſhut up in a cloſe Room, without Books, without any other Paper than what is neceſſary for them to write on. All the while they are forbidden all manner of Correſpondents, at the Doors are placed by the Mandarins Guards, whoſe fidelity no Bribes can Corrupt; the ſecond examination is yet more ſtrict, for leaſt the Commiſſary ſent by the Court ſhould himſelf be byaſſed thro' favour or the hopes of gain, he is not ſuffered to ſee or ſpeak with any Perſon 'till the Examination is over.

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In Creating the Doctors, the Emperor often engages himself; the present Emperor is more fear'd by the Candidates than any of the other Posers, not only for his nice Exactness and rigorous Justice, but for his extraordinary Abilities in judging of any thing of this Nature. When the Doctors are named, they are presented to him; to three Principal of which he gives Garlands of Flowers, or any other marks of Honour, to distinguish them from the rest; some of them likewise he chuses for Members of his Royal Academy, from whence they never remove, unless into Posts of the greatest Consideration and Credit in the Kingdom.

The great number of Presents which they receive from their Kindred and Friends keeps the Doctors from being poor. Every one hopes to make some advantage from his friendship; but lest high Promotion should make them negligent, and sit loose to their Studies; they still undergo several Examinations, where if they appear to have been negligent, they certainly meet with severity and reproof; whereas if they have still continued to forward and improve their Studies, they meet with a suitable encouragement and reward.

No small share of the Publick Good is owing to this Principle of Policy. The Youths, whom idleness and sloth never fail to Corrupt, are by this constant Employment diverted from ill Courses, they have scarce time enough to follow their loose Inclinations? Secondly, Study forms and polishes their Wits. People who never engage in Arts and Sciences, are always blockish and stupid. Thirdly, all Offices are filled by able Men, and if they cant prevent that injustice which proceeds from the Covetousness and Corrupt Affections of Officers, at least they will take care to hinder that which arises from Ignorance and Immorality. Fourthly, since the Places are given,

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the Emperor may with greater Juſtice turn out thoſe Officers whom he ſhall find undeſerving. We ought indeed to puniſh every Offender; yet it would be natural to bear with a Mandarin who is negligent of his Office for want of Underſtanding or Application, who is too mild or over ſevere, if taking away his Place would ruin his Family whoſe whole Fortune it may be was laid out in the purchaſe of it, when as if a Place be diſpoſed only by Donation, the Prince who gave it may eaſily without any diſturbance take it from one, and gratifie another with it.

Laſtly, no Fees are paid for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. The Judge whoſe Office coſt him nothing, and who has his Salary ſtated, can require nothing of the parties at Law; which impowers every poor Man to proſecute his own Rights, and frees him from being oppreſſed by the opulence of his Adverſary, who can't be brought to do juſtly and reaſonably becauſe the other has not mony.

The *Chineſe* have eſtabliſhed this as a fifth Maxim of Policy never to ſuffer Strangers to have any ſhare in their Adminiſtration. The ſmall eſteem they bear them, makes the *Chineſe* uſe them ſo courſly. They fancy that a mixture of Natives and Foreigners would bring them to contempt, and occaſion nought but Corruption and Diſorder. From thence alſo would ſpring particular Grudges, making Parties, and at laſt Rebellions. For difference of People neceſſarily ſuppoſes difference of Cuſtoms, Languages, Humour and Religion. This makes them no longer Children of the ſame Family, bred up to the ſame Opinions, and tempered with the ſame Notions; and be there all imaginable care uſed in inſtructing and forming Strangers, they are at moſt but adopted Sons, who never have that implicit Obedience and tender Affection, which Children by Nature bear to their own Parents. So that ſhould Foreigners be better qualified

fied than Natives, which you can never make the *Chineſe* believe, they would fancy it for the good of their Country to prefer Natives to them: and it is little leſs than a Miracle in favour of Chriſtianity, that a few Miſſionaries have been ſuffered to ſettle there.

This laſt piece of Policy is extremely good when thoſe of a falſe Religion are kept out, which teaches Rebellion and Diſturbance; itſelf being the Product of Caballing and Riot, but the Caſe is otherwiſe in Chriſtianity, whoſe Humility, Sweetneſs and Obedience to Authority, produces nought but Peace, Unity, and Charity among all People. This is what the *Chineſe* begin to be convinced of, having had tryal of it for an whole Age together. Happy were it if they would embrace it as a Conſtitution equally neceſſary for the Salvation of their Souls, as conducive to the Peace and Good of their State.

Their ſixth Maxim is that Nobility is never Hereditary, neither is there any diſtinction between the Qualities of People; ſaving what the Offices which they Execute makes, ſo that excepting the Family of *Confucius* the whole Kingdom is divided into Magiſtracy and Commonalty. There are no Lands but what are held by Socage-Tenure, not even thoſe Lands which are deſtined for the *Bonzes*, or which belong to the Temples of the Idols. So that their Gods, as well as Men, are ſubjected to the State, and are obliged by Taxes and Contributions to acknowledge the Emperors Supremacy. When a Vice Roy or Governour of a Province is dead, his Children, as well as others, have their Fortunes to make; and if they inherit not their Fathers Virtue and Ingenuity, his name which they bear, be it never ſo famous, gives them no quality at all.

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The Advantages which the State makes of this Maxim are firſt, Trading is in a more flouriſhing condition, which the lazineſs of the Nobility is the likelieſt means to ruin. Secondly, the Emperors Revenues are encreaſed by it; becauſe no Eſtates are Tax-free. In Towns which pay Poll-Mony no Perſon is exempt. Thirdly, by this means Families are hindred from ingratiating themſelves with the Populace, and ſo kept from eſtabliſhing themſelves ſo far in the Peoples favour, that it would be a difficulty to the Prince himſelf to keep them within bounds. Laſtly, its a received Opinion among the *Chineſe*, that if an Emperor would be obeyed he muſt lay his commands upon Subjects, and not upon ſo many little Kings.

Their ſeventh Principle of Policy is to keep up in Peace, as well as War, great Armies, as well to maintain a Credit and Reſpect from the Neighbours, as to ſtifle or rather prevent any Diſturbance or Inſurrection which may happen at Home. Heretofore a million of Soldiers were ſet to Guard their great Wall. A leſs number alſo than that to Garriſon their Frontiers and great Towns would have been too little. Now they think it enough to keep Garriſons in their moſt important Towns.

Beſides theſe ſtanding Forces, there are fifteen or twenty thouſand Men in each Province, under the command of private Officers; they have alſo Soldiers to keep their Iſlands, eſpecially *Haynan* and *Formoſa*. The Horſe Guards of *Pekin* are above an hundred and ſixty thouſand. So that, I believe, in the greateſt and ſecureſt Peace the Emperor has in Pay and at Muſter no leſs than fifty hundred thouſand effective Men, all armed according to the Cuſtom of the Country with Scimeters and Darts. They have but a very ſmall Infantry, and of thoſe which they have there are no Pikemen, and very few Musketeers.

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Their Soldiers are very graceful, and pretty well Diſciplined, for the *Tartars* have almoſt degenerated into *Chineſe*, and the *Chineſe* continue as they always were, Soft, Effeminate, Enemies of Labour, better at making an handſome Figure at Muſter or in a March, than at behaving themſelves gallantly in an Action. The *Tartars* begin with heat and briskneſs, and if they can make their Enemies give ground in the beginning, then they can make their advantage of it; otherwiſe they are unable to continue an Attack a good while, or to bear up long againſt one, eſpecially if made in order and with vigour. The Emperor, whom I have had the honour to ſpeak with, who ſays nothing but what is proper, as he does nothing but what is great, gave this ſhort Character of them, they are good Soldiers when oppoſed to bad ones, but bad when oppoſed to good ones.

The eighth Maxim is concerning their Rewards and Puniſhments. Great Men who have faithfully ſerved their Country never loſe their Reward; and becauſe be a Prince never ſo Opulent, he can never have enough to reward all his Subjects, this defect is made up by Marks and Titles of Honour, which are very acceptable to the Subjects, and no charge to the Prince.

Theſe Titles of Honour are what they call the ſeveral Orders of Mandarins. They ſay ſuch an one is a Mandarin of the firſt Rank, or the Emperor has placed ſuch an one in the firſt Claſs of the Mandarins of the ſecond Rank, and in like manner of others. This Dignity, which is merely honorary, makes them take place in Aſſemblies, Viſits, and Councels, but is no profit to them. To make theſe Rewards of greater extent, which the People chuſe much ſooner than Penſions, they are ſometimes beſtowed even upon the dead, who are oftimes made Mandarins after their Funerals, who therefore fill ſometimes the greateſt

greateſt Places of Honour amongſt the Nobility when the Emperor can't beſtow upon them the meaneſt Place among the living. They have oftentimes at the Publick or the Princes Charge lofty Monuments raiſed for them, and that Court which looks after the Publick Expences judges what recompenſe ſhall be paid to their deſert. Theſe Rewards are oftimes accompanied with Elogies in their praiſe made by the Emperor himſelf, which makes them and their Family famous to all Poſterity. But the higheſt Honour is to make them Saints, to build them Temples, and offer them Sacrifices as to the Gods of the Country. By this means Paganiſm has been mightily ſupported by the Emperors, adoring themſelves the Work of their own Hands, and paying Worſhip and Honour to them, who when alive would have been glad to be Proſtrate at their now Worſhippers feet.

They Reward alſo in private Men thoſe vertuous Actions which bring no publick Advantage to the State. We read in Hiſtory that Temples have been raiſed to the memory of ſome Maids who all their lives kept their Chaſtity inviolable. And I my ſelf have ſeen in ſeveral of their Towns Trophies with honorable Inſcriptions raiſed up for Inhabitants of mean rank and degree, to publiſh to all the World their Virtue and Merit.

If the *Chineſe* are very liberal in their Rewards, they are as ſevere in their Puniſhments even of the ſlighteſt Faults; their Puniſhments are adequate to their demerits. The uſual Puniſhment is the Baſtinado on the Back. When they receive but forty or fifty blows they call this a Fatherly Correction. To which as well Mandarins as others are ſubject; this Puniſhment is not accounted very ſcandalous, and after it is executed, the Criminal muſt fall on his Knees before the Judge, and if able bow three times down to the ground, and give him humble thanks for taking this care of his Education. Yet

Yet this Puniſhment is of that Violence that one ſtroke is enough to fell one that is of a tender Conſtitution; and oftimes perſons die of it; it is true there are ways of ſoftening this Puniſhment when the Execution of it is in Court. The eaſieſt is to Bribe the Executioners, for there are many of them; becauſe leſt the Executioners wearineſs ſhould leſſen the Puniſhment, after five or ſix ſtrokes another ſucceeds, and ſo till the whole be performed. But when the Criminal has by mony made them his Friends, they underſtand their buſineſs ſo well, that notwithſtanding all the care which the Mandarins preſent can uſe, the Puniſhment becomes light and almoſt nothing.

Beſide this in the Courts there are perſons to be hired, who keep a good underſtanding with the Officers. Who, upon a ſignal given, take the place of the Criminal, who eſcapes among the croud, and receives his Puniſhment. For mony there are every where theſe ſort of Vicarious Perſons to be met with. For it is a Trade at *China*, where ſeveral Perſons are maintained by the blows of the Cudgel.

By ſuch a trick as this *Yam-quam ſien*, a famous Perſecutor of Chriſtianity eſcaped the juſt Sentence of the Judges. He engaged a paltry Fellow for a large ſum of mony to take upon him his name, and go to the Court of Juſtice in his ſtead. He told him that let it come to the worſt it was but a good Cudgelling, and if after that he was impriſoned, there ſhould be found out a way to redeem him thence. The poor Fellow went according to agreement, and when the Cryer called out aloud *Yam quam ſien*, the Fellow anſwered as loud, *Here*; his Sentence was paſſed, and the Mandarin condemned him to death. The Officers, who had been bribed, ſeized on him immediately, and according to Cuſtom gagged him; for after Sentence the Criminal is not ſuffered to ſpeak. Afterward

terward he was brought to the place of Execution, where the poor Wretch ſuffered a miſerable death.

The ſecond ſort of Puniſhment is the *Carcan*, which differs from the former only in the place where the Baſtinadoes are given: in this they are given the Criminal at one of the City Gates or in the Highway; the Puniſhment here is not ſo ſharp but the Infamy is greater, and he who has once undergone this Puniſhment can never more recover his Reputation.

They have ſeveral different ways of inflicting death. Mean and ignoble Perſons have their Heads cut off, for in *China* the ſeparation of the Head from the Body is diſgraceful. On the contrary Perſons of Quality are Strangled, which among them is a death of more Credit; if the Crime be very notorious they are Puniſhed like mean Perſons, and ſometimes their Heads are cut off and hanged on a Tree in the Highways.

Rebels and Traytors are puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity; that is to ſpeak as they do, they cut them into ten thouſand pieces. For, after that the Executioner hath tyed them to a Poſt, he cuts off the Skin all round their Forehead, which he tears by force till it hangs over their Eyes, that they may not ſee the Torments they are to endure. Afterwards he cuts their Bodies in what places he thinks fit, and when he is tyred with this barbarous Employment, he leaves them to the tyranny of their Enemies, and the inſults of the Mob.

Often Criminals are cruelly whipped till they expire. Laſtly, the Torture which is the cruelleſt of all Deaths is here uſed; and generally the Hands and Fingers ſuffer moſt in it.

Ninthly, They think it good Policy to forbid Women from all Trade and Commerce, which they can only benefit by letting it alone; all their buſineſs lies

within Doors, where they find continual Employment in the careful Education of their Children. They neither Buy nor Sell; and one ſees Women ſo ſeldom in the Streets, that one would imagine them to be all Religiouſes confined to a Cloyſter. Princeſſes never Succeed to the Crown, nor ever have the Regency during the young Princes minority; and tho' the Emperor may in private conſult them, it is reckoned mean and ignoble to do it. In which thing the *Chineſe* ſeem in my Opinion leſs reaſonable than in others. For wit and foreſight is equally the Portion of the one as of the other Sex; and a Prince is never ſo underſtanding as when he knows how to find out all his Treaſures whereſoever Nature has placed them, nor ever ſo Prudent as when he makes uſe of them.

Laſtly, Their tenth Maxim is to encourage Trade as much as poſſible thro' the whole Empire. All the other Policy is conducive to the plenty or convenience of their Country; but this is concern'd for the very lives of the People, who would be ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity if Trade ſhould once fail. It is not the Peoples care only, but the Mandarins alſo, who put out their mony to truſty Traders to make the beſt advantage of it. By this private way *Ouſanguey*, the little King of *Chenſi*, who brought the *Tartars* into *China*, made himſelf ſo rich and powerful, that he was able himſelf to ſupport for a long time the War againſt the Emperor.

To encreaſe Commerce Foreigners have been permitted to come into the Ports of *China*, a thing till lately never known. On the other ſide the *Chineſe* ſpread themſelves over all the *Indies*, where they carry Silk, China, Phyſical Drugs, Sugar, Japanned Works, Wine, and Potters Ware. They go to *Batavia*, *Siam*, to *Achim*, *Malacca* and eſpecially to *Jappon* and *Manilla*; from which they are diſtant but a few days Sail.

Sail. From all these places they bring Silver, all of which that is brought from *Mexico* to the *Philippine* Islands by the *Pacifick* Ocean, is carried from thence to *Canton*, whence it is spread thro' the whole Empire.

But the greatest part of their Trading lies within themselves, from one Province to another, which like so many Kingdoms Communicate to each other their Riches. That of *Houquam* sends Rice, that of *Canton* Sugar, from *Chequiam* comes good Silk, from *Nankin* neat and handsome pieces of Workmanship; *Chensi* and *Chansi* are rich in Iron, Horses, Mules, Cammels and Furs. *Tokiem* yields Tea. *Leautom* Drugs, and so the rest. This mutual Commerce unites the People, and fills their Towns with plenty. These, my Lord, are not all the *Chinese* Maxims, there are a World of others; but I have wrote down these as the most known and most essential ones for the Publick Good.

Good order in the Inferior Governments is as useful a part of Policy to the State as any whatever, by these Inferior Governments I mean those of the Cities, and of the several Camps. All these are settled in *China*; for from the Foundation of that Empire the State has thought it worth while to look after even the most inconsiderable things.

Among Persons of Quality there never happens any Dispute about taking place, because every one knows exactly what is due to his own, and to others Quality; and it was a great surprise to every body to see about six or seven years ago a Prince of the Blood, and a *Colao* engaged in such a sort of Dispute. The occasion of it was this; the Laws Ordain that when a *Colao* is about to speak to a Prince of the Blood he must bend the Knee, but Custom has laid as strong an Obligation on the Prince to take him up immediately.

The Prince thought that an obliging Custom tho' constantly practised by the Royal Family on several occasions ought not to prejudice his right by Law. He did therefore give Audience to a *Colao* on his Knees and never made any motion to him to rise. The Minister of State in a great Confusion to see himself kept so long in so humble a Posture complained of it to the Emperor, who assembled his Council forthwith. They looked into the Ceremonial to observe what they could find that would contribute to the deciding this Novel Case, but when they could find nothing therein serviceable to that end they were more perplex'd than ever.

Finally the Council who were against Innovations, judged that the Practise ought to be continued as before; and not freeing the *Colaos* from their obligation of speaking to the Princes of the Blood on their Knees, they thought it requisite also that the Princes should use that Civility towards them as not to keep them in that posture long. *You can't*, said they to the *Colao*, *honour the Princes too much, and you do not do well to omit any occasion where you can shew the respect you bear them. Princes*, added the Emperor to him who had occasioned this Dispute, *are by their own Rank set high enough above the rest of mankind, as not to need proudly to seek to debase them lower. They can want nothing to make them honourable, but Temper and Modesty. When you are denied the Respect due to you, all the World knows you have not what you ought to have; but when you insist upon every little Mark of Respect, it will make the World begin to inquire whether you deserve it.* Thus both of them were reprimanded, and that no new Laws might be made they let Custom be their Rule.

Every thing that belongs to the Princes or Mandarins, is punctually stated; their Pensions, their Houses, the number of their Servants, the shape and bigness

bigneſs of their Sedans, and the Badges of Honour by which they are diſtinguiſhed. So that when they come into Publick their Quality is preſently known, and the reſpect which is due to them with as little trouble paid. When the *Chineſe* governed the Empire, even private Men wore their marks of diſtinction; and there was no learned Man but his Degree and Rank might be known by the Faſhion or Colour of his Garb.

The Towns have their determinate Figure; they ought all to be ſquare as far as the Ground they are built upon will ſuffer it; in ſuch ſort that the Gates may be ſo built as to anſwer the four principal Quarters of the World, that is the North, South, Eaſt, and Weſt. The Houſes have thorough Lights, and are eſteemed ill built if their Doors do not lie exactly parallel to one of the ſides of the Town.

Towns of the ſeveral Orders have different bigneſs, the chief Towns are nine or twelve Miles round, thoſe of the firſt Rank are but ſix, thoſe of the ſecond or third Orders are leſs in proportion. This Rule nevertheleſs is not ſo univerſal as to admit of no Exception. The Streets are ſtrait, generally laid out by the Line, large, well paved, yet very inconvenient; becauſe every Perſon of any account goes up and down them either on Horſeback or in a Chair. The Houſes are low, of an equal height. The jealouſie of the Husbands would not ſuffer that their Neighbours Houſes ſhould be higher than their own, leſt thereby their Windows ſhould overlook their Court-Yards and Gardens.

The whole Town is divided into four parts, and thoſe again into ſeveral ſmaller Diviſions, each of which contain ten Houſes, over every one of which ſubdiviſions an Officer preſides, who takes notice of every thing which paſſes in his little Ward, tells the Mandarin what Contentions happen, what extraor-

dinary things, what Strangers come thither or go thence. The Neighbourhood is obliged to give mutual assistance, and in case of an allarm to lend one another an helping hand, for if any Theft or Robbery be committed in the Night, the Neighborhood must contribute toward repairing the loss. Lastly, in every Family the Father is responsible for the disorders and irregularities committed either by his Children or Servants.

The Gates of the Cities are well looked after, and even in time of Peace are shut up at the approach of night. In the day-time there are Guards to examine all who come in; if he be a Stranger, if he comes from another Province, or from a Neighbouring Town, they know him by his Tone, by his Mien, or his Habit, which in every place are somewhat different. When they observe any thing extraordinary or suspicious, they take the Person up, or inform the Mandarin of it. So that *European* Missionaries, whose Aspect is infinitely different from that of the *Chinese*, are known as soon as seen, and those who have not the Emperors approbation find it very difficult to make a long Journey.

In certain places, as at *Pekin*, as soon as night comes on they tie Chains cross the Streets; the Guards go the Patrole up and down the chief Streets, and Guards and Sentinels are placed here and there. The Horse go the Rounds upon the Fortifications; and wo be to him who is found then from Home. Meetings, Masquerades and Balls, and such like Night-works are good, say the *Chinese*, for none but Theives and the Mob. Orderly People ought at that time either to sit up providing for their Family, or else take their rest, that they may be refreshed, and better able the next day to manage the business of the Family.

Gaming is forbidden both to the Commonalty and Genrry.

Gentry. Which nevertheleſs hinders not the *Chineſe* from playing, ſometimes even ſo long as till they have loſt all their Eſtate, their Houſes, their Children and their Wives, which they ſometimes hazard upon a Card; for there is no degree of Extravagance to which the deſire of Lucre and Riches will not carry a *Chineſe*. But beſides that it is a diſorder which the *Tartars*, ſince they became Maſters of *China*, have introduced amongſt them, they take great heed to conceal their gaming; and by conſequence the Law which forbids it always flouriſhes, and is able to ſuppreſs great diſorders.

What I have ſaid concerning Wives, that their Husbands may ſell them, or loſe them at Play; puts me in mind to give ſome account of the Rules which their Civil Conſtitution rather than their Religion have ordained concerning Marriages; thoſe who have a mind to Marry do not, as among us, follow their own fancies in their choice of a Wife. They never ſee the Woman they are about to have, but take her Parents word in the caſe, or elſe they have their information from ſeveral old Women who are as it were inſpectors, but who are nevertheleſs in fee with the Womans Friends to ſet her out more than ſhe deſerves, ſo that it is very ſeldom that they make a true Deſcription, or give a juſt Character of her whom they go to view.

The Womans Parents give mony generally to theſe Emiſſaries to oblige them to give a favourable Character. For it is for the Parents advantage that their Daughter ſhould be reputed handſom, witty, and genteel; becauſe the *Chineſe* buy their Wives, and, as in other Merchandiſes, they give more or leſs according to the good or bad properties of them.

When the Parties are agreed about the price the Contract is made, and the mony paid down. Then preparation is made on both ſides for the Nuptial

Solemnites, when the day of Marriage is come they carry the Bride in a ſumptuous Chair before which go Hautboys, Drums and Fifes, and after it follow her Parents and other particular Friends of her Family. All the Portion which ſhe brings is her marriage Garments, ſome Cloaths, and houſhold Goods which her Father preſents her with. The Bridegroom ſtands at his door richly attired waiting for her: he himſelf opens the Sedan which was cloſely ſhut, and having conducted her into a Chamber, delivers her to ſeveral Women invited thither for that purpoſe, who ſpend there the day together in feaſting and ſporting, while the Husband in another Room entertains his Friends and Acquaintance.

This being the firſt time that the Bride and Bridegroom ſee each other, and both or one very often not liking their Bargain, its very often a day of rejoycing for their Gueſts, but of ſorrow for themſelves. The Women muſt ſubmit tho' they don't like, becauſe their Parents have ſold them, but the Husbands ſometimes are not ſo complaiſant, for there have been ſome who when they firſt opened the Sedan to receive the Bride, repulſed by her Shape and Aſpect have ſhut the Chair again, and ſent her and her Parents and Friends back again, willing rather to loſe their Mony than enter upon ſo bad a Purchaſe.

When the *Tartars* in the late War took *Nankin*, there happened a paſſage which made the *Chineſe* merry notwithſtanding all their misfortunes. Among all the diſorders which the Victors committed in that Province, they endeavoured to ſeize upon all the Women they could to make mony of them. When they took the chief City of that Province, they carry'd all the Women thither, and ſhut them up higgly piggly together in the Magazines with other Goods. But becauſe there were ſome of all ages and degrees of Beauty, they reſolved to put them into

Sacks

Sacks and carry them to Market, and ſo ſell them to any one at a venture ugly or handſome. There was the ſame price ſet upon every one, and for ſixteen or eighteen ſhillings take which Sack you will without opening it. After this manner the Soldiers, who were ever inſolent in Proſperity, abuſed their Victory, and approved themſelves more barbarous in the moſt Polite and Civil City in the World, than they had been in the Deſerts of *Tartary*.

At the day of Sale there came Buyers enough. Some came to recover if haply they could their Wives or Children who were among thoſe Women, others were led thither thro' hopes that good fortune and a lucky chance would put a Fortune into their Hands. In ſhort the novelty of the thing brought a great Concourſe from the adjacent places. An ordinary Fellow who had but twelve ſhillings in the World, gave it and choſe a Sack as did the reſt, and carryed it off; when he was got out of the crowd, whether thro' curioſity or a deſire to relieve the perſon in the Sack who complained, he could not forbear opening it. In it he found an old Woman, whom age, grief, and ill treatment had made deformed to the higheſt degree; he was ſo confoundedly mad at it, that to gratifie his Paſſion and Rage he was going to throw the old Woman and Sack both together into the River, that the gratification of his Paſſion might be ſome comfort to him for the loſs of his mony.

Then the good old Gentlewoman ſaid to him. Son, your lot is not ſo bad as you imagine; be of good chear, you have made your Fortune: take care only of my life, I will make yours happier than ever it has been yet. Theſe words ſomewhat pacified him. Wherefore he carried her into a Houſe hardby, where ſhe told him her Quality and her Eſtate. She belonged to a Mandarin of note in the Neighbourhood, to whom ſhe wrote immediately. He ſent her an Equi-

Equipage agreeable to her Quality, and she carried her deliverer along with her, and afterwards was so good a friend to him, that he never had reason to complain that he had lost the two Crowns which he lay'd out in purchasing her.

But to return to the *Chinese* Marriages, I must farther tell you, that a Husband may not Divorce his Wife, excepting for Adultery, and a few other occasions which seldom or never fall out; in those cases they sell them to whosoever will buy them, and buy another. Persons of Quality never do thus, but common People do frequently. If a Man has the boldness to sell his Wife without just reason, both the Buyer and Seller are severely punished, yet the Husband is not obliged to take her again.

Although a Man be allowed but one Wife, he may have as many Concubines as he will; all the Children have an equal claim to the Estate, because they are reckon'd as the Wives Children tho' they be some of the Concubines; they all call the Wife Mother, who is indeed sole Mistress of the House; the Concubines serve and honour her, and have no manner of authority or power but what they derive from her.

The *Chinese* think it a strange thing that the *Europeans* are not thus allowed the use of Women, yet they confess it is a commendable sign of moderation in them. But when we observed to them the troubles, quarrels, contentions, and jealousies which many Women must needs raise in a Family, they say nothing is without some inconvenience and disorder; but that perhaps there are more crosses in having but one, than in having many Women. The best way they own is to have none at all.

Altho' the *Chinese* are extremely jealous to that degree that they suffer not their Wives to speak in private even to their own Brethren, much less give them liberty

liberty to enjoy all that freedom and publick Diversion which in *Europe* is esteemed only Gallantry and Curiosity: nevertheless there are Husbands so very complaisant to their Wives as to let them freely commit Adultery, which permission some Women make the condition of their Marriage: Those who according to such agreement follow these courses (as there is a certain sort of People who do) have no manner of power to hinder Debauchées from frequenting their Houses, and from making ill use of the easiness or unruly Passions of such Women. But such Families as these are abhorred by the *Chinese*, who think so ill of them, that their Children tho' never so deserving or intelligent can never obtain any degree, or be employed in any honourable Office.

Of all their Civil Institutions there is no one which costs the *Chinese* so much trouble as does the ordering of their time, and their Holydays. There are in the Emperors service above an hundred persons, on purpose to regulate the Kalendar, which they make anew every year, and with a great deal of Ceremony send it up and down to the Vice Roys of each Province. They regulate the number of Months, which is sometimes twelve, sometimes thirteen, which are Lunar months, and ought to agree with the Suns course. In these Almanacks the Equinoxes, Solstices, and the Suns entry into each Sign is set down: The Eclipses of the Sun or Moon are there, and the time when visible at *Pekin* or any of the Principal Cities. The Planets courses, their places in the Ecliptick, their Oppositions, Conjunctions, and Propinquity to any Stars are described, and indeed every thing else is well calculated, which Astronomy has that is curious or excellent. They mix with this divers points of judicial Astrology, which Ignorance or Superstition have invented, concerning happy or unhappy days, times proper for Marriage, Building, or undertaking

Journies,

Journies. These prejudices generally guide the People; but the Emperor, and all other Men of Sence are wiser than to mind such trifles.

Altho' there be no publick Clocks as in *Europe*, the day is nevertheless divided into four and twenty parts which have all their particular Names, and begin from midnight. They tell me that antiently they divided their day into twelve parts, each of which were subdivided into eight; which made the natural day consist of fourscore and sixteen, which were exactly distinguished in their Calculations. But their Sundials (and they have very antient ones) were divided into four general divisions, each of which contained four and twenty little subdivisions, which added to the four great divisions divided the whole Circle into an hundred parts.

This sort of Dialling seems very irregular, nor can I see for what use it was intended. Since they have received the new Kalendar from the Missionaries, they have regulated their Dials by hours, and reckon their time almost as we do; only we must take notice that instead of two hours they reckon but one, so that their natural day consists of but twelve hours, the names of which diversly combined with ten other terms which they have invented, make a Revolution of sixty, which serves them instead of a Cycle to mark their different years. I dare not trouble you, My Lord, with particular enumerations which would be tedious, and are in foregoing Relations sufficiently explained.

As for the People, they are not very nice herein; they content themselves with knowing the time of the Suns rising and setting, and Noon. In the night they make use of Bells and Drums which are very often sounded, and serve to distinguish the night into five Watches.

The

The Current Coin is very odd. They have round Copper pieces with a hole in the middle, that they may be ſtrung, they are full of Characters; the metal is neither pure nor well hammered; and altho' they are thick, one may break them with ones Fingers if one ſtrive; ten of theſe make a peny, ten of which are the tenth part of the *Chineſe* Crown, called by the *Portugueſe*, in the *Indies*, *Taël*, and by themſelves *Leam*, which Crown amounts to ſix ſhillings two pence halfpeny, and $\frac{2}{7}\frac{2}{3}$ of a farthing.

This Crown piece is not coined with any ſtamp or image on it as our mony in *Europe* is; the *Chineſe* Silver mony is not made in any determinate regular form, they take for mony any irregular pieces or bits of Silver by weight, which if they do not believe to be good Silver they may cut aſunder. This they practice to prevent falſe and counterfeit mony, and they are ſo expert in gueſſing at the goodneſs and value of any piece of Silver by looking on it only, that they are ſeldom miſtaken, eſpecially if it be melted after the manner practiſed there.

They know the goodneſs of it three ways; by the colour, by ſeveral little holes which are made in it by the melting pot, and by divers ſmall Circles which the Air makes on the ſurface of the metal when it cools after melting. If the colour be white, the holes ſmall and deep, if the Circles be many, and thoſe cloſe, and very fine, eſpecially toward the center of the piece, then the Silver is pure: but the more it differs from theſe three qualities ſo much the more Alloy it has.

To explain my ſelf better, I muſt tell you, they divide their Silver with reſpect to its purity into a hundred ſorts, as we do Gold into four and twenty, called Carats; The Silver which is current in Trade is all the ſorts between the fourſcorth and the hundreth ſort or degree of purity. If it be of a baſer

Alloy

Alloy they will not take it, but puniſh thoſe who offer it. They take our mony as Silver of the fourſcore and fifteenth ſort, tho' thoſe who underſtand Silver well, judge it to be but of the fourſcore and third ſort at moſt. So that in an hundred Ounces of our Silver there are ſeven of Alloy, or, which is all one, an hundred Ounces of it is worth but ninety three of fine Silver.

As for Gold, it never paſſes in *China* for mony no more than Jewels do; they buy it as they do other Goods or Merchandiſe, and the *Europeans* make a good Market of it; becauſe in *China* a pound of Gold bears but the ſame proportion to a pound of Silver as one does to ten, whereas among us it is as one to fifteen, ſo that the Merchant gets by it generally a third part.

Since almoſt every thing is there ſold by weight, amongſt ſeveral ſort of Scales, they make uſe of a ſmall portable Balance, kept in a ſmall varniſhed caſe which is very light and uſeful; they are ſomething like the *Roman* balance, conſiſting of a ſmall diſh, an arm, and a weight that ſlides up and down that arm, which is made of Ivory or Ebony, in bigneſs, length, and ſhape like a Pen; it is divided into three ſmall parts on three different ſurfaces, it hangs by ſilken threads at one of the ends in three different points, that it may the better weigh weights of every ſort. They weigh very nicely and exactly; for in thoſe whoſe arm is of any conſiderable length, the thouſandth part of a Crown will ſenſibly turn the Scale.

There are two ſorts of thoſe Scales, one more agreeable to the antient Balances, which are uſed in Courts of Juſtice; the beam of this is ſo divided as exactly to agree with the weight of the *French* mony, ſince it hath been encreaſed by a ſixth part in weight, ſo that every diviſion of the beam weighs the weight of

of a Sou or Peny; ſo that ſeventy two *Chineſe* Sous or Penys weigh exactly a *French* Crown, or an ounce *Engliſh*. But the common Balance, which is moſt uſed in *China*, is ſomewhat different from this; for a *French* Crown will weigh ſeventy three diviſions of this beam; this I thought my ſelf obliged to take notice of, that we may the better underſtand what the Relations hitherto have ſo much differed about.

The *Chineſe* divide their pound weight as we do into ſixteen ounces, each ounce into ten parts called *Tçien*; each of theſe into ten peny weights, and each of theſe again into ten grains. There are a great many other diviſions, which decreaſe in the ſame proportion that 1 has to 10, which diviſions our Language has no names for. Altho' theſe ſmaller diviſions come almoſt to nothing when ſingle in the Scale, yet in great Traffick they reckon them, where the multiplication of them ariſes to a conſiderable ſum. In ſhort if we ſuppoſe that our Crown ſhould weigh three drachms, or one and twenty peny weight and eight grains, then the *Chineſe* pound will contain 19 ounces, 3 drachms, 2 peny weights, 13 grains $\frac{6}{7}\frac{2}{3}$. And on the contrary our pound will contain 13 ounces *Chineſe*, 1 *Tçien*, and 4 peny weights, underſtanding theſe two laſt weights as they are explained above.

As to the common meaſures in uſe in this Empire, they have by diverſe perſons been repreſented in different manners; becauſe of thoſe who have wrote upon this Subject, ſome have had recourſe to the meaſures of one Province, others to thoſe of another. I have examined all of them carefully, and do think that Father *Verbieſts* Meaſures, which they uſe in the Mathematical Court, are the exacteſt. The *Chineſe* Foot is very little different from ours. Not but that ours is ſomewhat longer almoſt $\frac{1}{100}$; but this difference is nothing with the *Chineſe*, who do not ſtand ſo nicely

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and ſtrictly to their meaſure as we do, which the People have to meaſure with, and not to contend and quarrel by.

The Civil Government of the *Chineſe* does not only preſide over the Towns, but extends alſo over the Highways, which they make handſome and eaſily paſſable. The paſſages for their Water are in ſeveral places fenced in with Stone Walls for the convenience of travelling, over which there are a great number of Bridges, which unite the Towns and the Fields together. Canals are alſo cut for the water to paſs thro' all the Towns of the Southern Provinces, to make their Ditches more ſecure, and the Towns more pleaſant. In low and marſhy grounds, they throw up prodigious long Banks which keep their Roads in thoſe parts good; to perform which they ſtick at no coſt, cutting a paſſage even thro' Mountains when they ſtand in their way.

The Road from *Signanfou* to *Hamtchoum* is one of the ſtrangeſt pieces of work in the world. They ſay, for I my ſelf have never yet ſeen it, that upon the ſide of ſome Mountains which are perpendicular and have no ſhelving they have fixed large beams into them, upon the which beams they have made a ſort of Balcony without rails, which reaches thro' ſeveral Mountains in that faſhion; thoſe who are not uſed to theſe ſort of Galeries, travel over them in a great deal of pain, afraid of ſome ill accident or other. But the People of the place are very hazardous: they have Mules uſed to theſe ſort of Roads, which travel with as little fear or concern over theſe ſteep and hideous precipices as they could do in the beſt or plaineſt Heath. I have in other places expoſed my ſelf very much by following too raſhly my Guides.

One can't imagin what care they take to make the common Roads convenient for paſſage. They are fourſcore foot broad or very near it; the Soil of them

them is light and soon dry when it has left off raining. In some Provinces there are on the right and left hand Causeways for the foot Passengers, which are on both sides supported by long rows of Trees, and oftimes tarrassed with a Wall of eight or ten foot high on each side, to keep Passengers out of the fields. Nevertheless these Walls have breaks, where Roads cross one the other, and they all terminate at some great Town.

There are several wooden Machines made like Triumphal Arches set up in the Roads about a Mile and a half distant from each other, about thirty foot high, which have three doors, over which is wrote upon a large Frize in Characters so large as may be read at almost half a quarter of a Mile distance, how far it is from the Town you left, and how far to the Town you are going to. So that you have no need of Guides here, for you may by these directions see what place the Road leads to, and from whence you came, how far you have already gone, and how far you have yet to go.

The great care which they have taken to lay out all these distances by the Line, makes the account which these inscriptions give to be pretty sure; yet they are not equal, because the Miles in some Provinces are longer than in others. It has happened likewise that some of these Arches being ruined and consumed by decay and time, have not been set up exactly in the same place; but generally speaking they serve for a good measure of the Highways, besides that in several places they are no small Ornament.

On one side of these Ways about the same distance are fixt little Towers made of earth cast up, on which they set up the Emperors Standard; near it is a Lodge for Soldiers or Country Militia. These are made use of in time of Rebellion, or indeed at any other

time, to carry any Expreſs if occaſion be, or to hand Letters from one to another; but eſpecially they take care to ſtop Highway men and Robbers.

Every Man who goes by armed is obliged to give an account whence he came, whither he is going, and upon what buſineſs, and muſt ſhew his Paſs. Beſide theſe Guards upon caſe of an allarm give a helping hand to Travellers, and ſtop all thoſe who are ſuſpected or accuſed of Robbery. Among the mighty number of Inhabitants which are in *China* a great part of which ſcarce know how to get a Subſiſtance, a body would imagine that abundance muſt needs turn Thieves; yet one may travel there with as great ſafety as here. I have travelled there ſix thouſand Miles up and down thro' almoſt all the Provinces, and was never but once in Danger of being robbed. Four ſtrange Horſemen followed me for a whole day together, but the Roads were ſo full of Travellers up and down that they could never get the coaſt clear for a quarter of an hour together, and ſo fell ſhort of their aim.

Their Poſts are as well regulated as ours in *Europe* are; at the Emperors ſole charge, who for that End maintains a great number of Horſe. The Couriers go from *Pekin* for the Capital Cities; the Vice-Roys of which as ſoon as they have received the Diſpatches from Court, ſend them forthwith by other Couriers to the Towns of the firſt Rank: from whence they are by theſe Governours conveyed to thoſe of the ſecond Rank under their Juriſdiction; and from thence they are tranſmitted to the Towns of the third Rank. It is true theſe Poſts were not eſtabliſhed for the conveyance of private Letters, yet the Poſtmaſters for a little mony undertake to carry Letters for private Men, as they always do for the Miſſionaries, who find it as ſure a way as that uſed in *Europe*, and much leſs chargeable.

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As it is a matter of importance that the Emperors orders be quickly tranſmitted, ſo it is a great part of the Mandarins Care to ſee that the Roads be good; and the Emperor to keep them the more ſtrictly to this, ſpreads a report that he intends ſhortly to Viſit this or that Province. The Governours of thoſe Provinces ſpare no charge or pains to repair thoſe Roads, becauſe it not only concerns their Fortunes, but ſometimes their Life, if this care be omitted.

As I once paſſed juſt by a Village of the third Rank, in the Province of *Chenſi*, they told me that the Governour had juſt hanged himſelf thro' deſpair leſt he ſhould not have time enough to repair a Road thro' which the Emperor was to paſs to the Capital Town. The Emperor nevertheleſs never went the Journey, ſo that the Mandarin might have ſaved his life by a little patience. But yet all the care which the *Chineſe* can uſe, will never prevent a mighty inconvenience which happens to thoſe who travel in their Roads.

The Soil of *China* is mighty light, and very much beaten by the vaſt multitudes who travel, ſome on foot, ſome on Camels, others in Litters, and again others in Charriots, ſo that the Roads are perfectly ground into very fine powder; when this is raiſed by Travellers, and carried about by the winds, it is enough to blind all Paſſengers if they have not Masks or Veils on them. Thro' theſe clouds you muſt continually make your way, and ſuck them in inſtead of Air, during whole Journeys together. When the weather is hot, and the wind in ones Face, ſcarce any one except a Native can withſtand it, I have ſometimes been forced to deſiſt from my Journey and come back again.

But of all their wholeſome Inſtitutions there is nothing which contributes ſo much to the keeping up Peace and Order, as does their method of Levying

the Emperors Revenue. They are not troubled in *China* with ſuch ſwarms of Officers and Commiſſioners as we are. All the Eſtates there are meaſured, and all the Families Regiſtred; and whatſoever the Emperor is to have by Exciſe on Goods, or Tax upon Perſons, is publickly known, every body brings in what is due from him, to the Mandarins or Governors of the Towns of the third Rank, for there is no particular Receiver appointed. Thoſe who neglect to bring in their Dues, do not loſe their Eſtates by Confiſcation, which would be to puniſh the Innocent of that Family with the Guilty; but the Perſons ſo offending ſuffer impriſonment, and undergo the Baſtinadoe 'till they have made ſatisfaction.

Theſe Mandarins of the lower Rank, give in an account of what they receive to a general Officer of the Province, who accounts with the Court of *Pekin* which looks after the publick Exchequer. A great part of the Revenue is disburſed up and down the Provinces in Penſions, Salaries, Soldiers Pay, publick buildings: what is over is carried to *Pekin*, to maintain the Emperors Court, and other expenſes in that Town, where the Emperor keeps in pay above an hundred and ſixty thouſand regular Troops, to whom as well as to the Mandarins, is given out every day Meat, Fiſh, Rice, Peaſe, and Straw, according to every ones Rank, beſides their conſtant Pay, which they regularly receive.

That which comes from the Southern Provinces, is alone ſufficient to anſwer this expence, this they bring by water in the Emperors Veſſels: yet they are ſo jealous leaſt the Revenue ſhould at any time fall ſhort of the disburſements, that in *Pekin* there are Magazines of Rice before hand ſufficient for three years. Which will keep a great while if it be well fanned and mixed, and altho' it looks not ſo well,

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nor taſts ſo pleaſantly as new Rice, yet it is much more wholeſome and nouriſhing.

This numerous Army about the Emperor, well looked after, duely payed, and exactly diſciplined, one would think ſhould awe all *Aſia*, yet their idleneſs, and the ſmall uſe they ever have occaſion to make of their Weapons, does contribute to weaken them as much as their natural Effeminacy. The Weſtern *Tartars* do not value their numbers a ſtraw, and frequently ſay in deriſion of them, that the neighing of a *Tartary* Horſe is enough to rout all the *Chineſe* Cavalry.

Yet they take all poſſible care to have good Soldiers, for they take no Officers into the Guards, 'till they have made trial of their ſtoutneſs, skill, and dexterity in Military Affairs. They are regularly examined, ſo that as learned Men have their Doctors to examine them, ſo theſe have alſo their Profeſſors.

Theſe Officers do regularly Exerciſe their Companies, they form them into Squadrons, march them, teach them to divide their Files to march thro' narrow paſſages, ſhew them to give the onſet, to rally at the ſound of the Cornet or Trumpet; beſides they are very dexterous in managing their Bow, or handling their Scymitar: yet ſoon broke, and by the leaſt thing in the world put into diſorder. The occaſion of this I apprehend to be, becauſe in the Education of their Youth they never inſtil into them Principles of Honour and Bravery, as we do as ſoon as ever they are big enough to know what Weapons are. The *Chineſe* are always talking to their Children of Gravity, Policy, Law, and Government; they always ſet Books and Letters in their view, but never a Sword into their Hands. So that having ſpent their youthful days behind the Counter, or at the Bar, they know no other courage but that of defending obſtinately an ill Cauſe, and are liſted into the Soldiery

on no other consideration but that they hope there will be no occasion for fighting. The *Chinese* Policy hinders hereby a great many Domestick Feuds and Disturbances; but in the same time it does expose its Subjects hereby to the Insults of Foreigners, which is ten times worse.

Thus, my Lord, I have set before you a general Scheme of the Government of *China*, of which People have spoke such wonders, and which is indeed admirable for its antiquity, for the wisdom of its Maxims, for the plainness and uniformity of its Laws, for that exemplary Virtue which it has produced in a long Succession of Emperors, for that regularity and order which it has kept the People in, in despight of Civil or Foreign Wars; which notwithstanding, like the rest of the things of this world, is subject to a great many inconveniences; to Rebellions which have depopulated whole Provinces, to the injustice of some Princes who have abused their power, to the Avarice of Mandarins who have often oppressed the People, to Invasions from abroad, and Treachery from home, to such a number of Changes, as would have unhinged the very Government and Laws, if a more Politick People than are the *Tartars*, were near enough the Empire to introduce their own method of Government.

It would, my Lord, be a piece of flattery to my self, to imagine that I have by this tedious account added any thing to that immense store of Knowledge which you have drawn from the best Springs of Antiquity, from the Conversation of the most ingenious of the Moderns, from the management of the most momentous Affairs, or (which is a greater Fountain of Understanding) from your own natural Wit and Ingenuity, which has made you (if I may use the Expression) a Native of all Countries, and a Philosopher of all Ages.

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But I am ſure you will be glad to ſee that the trueſt Maxims of good Policy are not altogether ſtrangers in the Eaſt; and that if *China* do not form ſo great Miniſters as you are, it forms great enough to underſtand Your worth, and to follow your ſteps, and improve themſelves from the Copy you ſet them, if they could but know you. I am in the moſt profound manner,

My Lord,

Your Eminence's moſt obedient

and moſt humble Servant

L. J.

To my Lord Cardinal de Bouillon.

Concerning the Antient and Modern Religion of China.

My Lord,

I Do not at all wonder that your Highneſs is pleaſed to hear Relations of *China*. It belongs only to great Princes to be thoroughly acquainted with all that concerns the ſeveral Kingdoms of the World, and to make a true judgment of the Power and Grandeur of Empires. God who has ſent ſuch Men into the World to Govern it, has given them a more than ordinary ability and knowledge to perform it. So that, my Lord, if I take upon me the liberty to acquaint your Lordſhip with what repeated Voyages for the ſpace of ſeveral years have given me oportunity to know in this affair, it is not ſo much to inſtruct you in it, as to beg your Highneſſes judgment of it.

I may ſay this ſtill with more truth when I have the honour to write to you of Religion. This is more particularly your concern; and I may ſay that if your Quality, your Ingenuity, and your incomparable Learning have made you above all Men our Judge; your Eminent Dignity in the Church obliges us, in Sacred concerns to hear and conſult your Highneſs as our Oracle.

'Tis on this proſpect, my Lord, that I now preſent to you theſe Memoirs with ſome Reflections which the Cuſtoms of the *Chineſe*, and the reading of their Books have ſuggeſted to me concerning their Religion, being of this mind, that after ſo many different Opinions and long Diſputes which have for a whole Age divided the moſt learned Miſſionaries, there is no better way of coming to deciſion, than to obtain your Highneſſes judgment therein.

Religion has always had a great ſhare in eſtabliſhing the greateſt Kingdoms, which could never ſupport themſelves, were not the Peoples Minds and Hearts tied together by the outward worſhip of ſome Deity; for People are naturally Superſtitious, and rather follow the guidance of Faith than Reaſon. It was therefore for this reaſon that the antient Lawgivers, always made uſe of the knowledge of the true God, or of the falſe Maxims of Idolatry, to bring the barbarous Nations under the Yoak of their Government.

China, happier in its Foundation than any other Nation under the Sun, drew in the chief of the holy Maxims of their antient Religion from the Fountain Head. The Children of *Noah*, who were ſcattered all over the Eaſtern parts of *Aſia*, and in all probability founded this Empire, being themſelves in the time of the Deluge witneſſes of the Omnipotence of their Creator, tranſmitted the Knowledge of him, and inſtilled the fear of him into all their deſcendants; the footſteps which we find in their Hiſtories, will not let us doubt the truth of this.

Fohi, the firſt Emperor of *China*, carefully bred up ſeven ſorts of Creatures, which he uſed to Sacrifice to the Supreme Spirit of Heaven and Earth. For this reaſon ſome called him *Paohi*, that is *oblation*; a name which the greateſt Saints of the Old or New Teſtament would have been proud to have, and which

which was reſerved for him alone, who made himſelf an Oblation both for Saints and Sinners.

Hoamti, the third Emperor, built a Temple to the Sovereign Lord of Heaven; and altho' *Judea* had the honour of Conſecrating to him one more rich and magnificent, hallowed even by the preſence of our Creator, and the prayers of our Redeemer; it is no ſmall glory to *China*, to have ſacrificed to their Creator in the moſt antient Temple of the World.

Tçouen hio, the fifth Emperor, thought afterwards that one place was too narrow to contain the Services paid to the Lord of the Univerſe: He therefore inſtituted Prieſts or Eccleſiaſtical Mandarins in ſeveral Provinces to preſide over the Sacrifices. He gave them ſtrict command to obſerve that Divine Service was performed with all humility and reſpect, and that all the Religious Ceremonies were ſtrictly obſerved.

Tiho, his Succeſſor, took as much care of Religion as he had done. Hiſtories relate that the Empreſs his Wife, being barren, begged Children of God during the Sacrifice with ſuch fervour and earneſtneſs, that ſhe conceived in few days, and ſometime after was brought to bed of a Son who was famous, for that forty Emperors ſucceſſively reigned of his Family.

Yao and *Chan*, the two Princes who ſucceeded him, are ſo famous for their Piety, and for the Wiſdom of their Governments, that it is very likely that Religion was ſtill more flouriſhing during their Reigns.

It is alſo very probable that the three ſucceeding Families did preſerve the knowledge of God, for about two thouſand years, during the Reign of fourſcore Emperors; ſince the learnedeſt among the *Chineſe* maintain that before the Superſtitions introduced with the God *To* into *China*, there were no Idols or Statues ſeen there. This is certain that during all

all that ſpace of time, the obſervation of the Emperor *Yao*'s Maximes was recommended to the Princes, of which the moſt eſſential and principal was concerning the Worſhip of the Sovereign Lord of the World; and altho' ſome Emperors have been ſo wicked as to reject them ſo far as even to threaten Heaven itſelf, and fooliſhly challenge it to fight, they have been nevertheleſs looked upon as Monſters; and other Emperors about that time have diſcovered by their actions a good ſenſe of Religion.

Vou-vam, the firſt of the third Line, did himſelf according to antient Cuſtom offer Sacrifices, and his Brother who bore him a paſſionate love, and thought his life ſtill neceſſary for the good of the Kingdom, ſeeing him one day in danger of dying, proſtrated himſelf before the Divine Majeſty to beg his recovery. *It is you, O Lord*, ſaid he, *who have given him to his People; he is our Father, he is our Maſter. If we fall into any diſorder, who can ſet us to rights again ſo well as he? And if we follow exactly what thou haſt inſpired him to teach us, why puniſheſt thou us by taking him? As for me, O Lord*, continued the good Prince, *I can be but little ſerviceable in this World; if you deſire the death of a Prince, I offer up my Life with all my heart for a Sacrifice, if you will be pleaſed to ſpare my Maſter, my King, and my Brother.* The Hiſtory ſays his Prayer was heard, for he dyed as ſoon as he had put up this Petition. An example which demonſtrates that not only the tenour of Religion was preſerved among thoſe People, but farther that they followed the dictates of the pureſt Charity, which is the very quinteſſence and perfection of Religion.

But *Tchim-vam*, his Son and Succeſſor, gave ſuch bright marks of his Piety, toward the end of his life, that it leaves us no room to doubt of the truth of what I have advanced. You ſhall hear what the antient

tient *Chineſe* Books ſay of him. This Prince, ſay they, who had always regulated his behaviour, according to the Ordinances of the Supreme Governour of Heaven, fell dangerouſly ill in the fiftieth year of his Age, and thirty ſeventh of his Reign. When he knew the danger he was in, he called together the principal Officers of his Court, with a deſign to nominate his Succeſſor, and that he might omit nothing which was uſually performed on ſuch occaſions, he aroſe from his Throne where he had ordered his Servants to ſet him: He made them waſh his Hands and Face, Cloath him with his Imperial Habits, and put his Crown on his Head; and then leaning on a Table of precious ſtone, he ſpake to the Company in this manner.

'My ſickneſs is every day worſe and worſe, for 'thus has Heaven ordained, I fear Death will ſeize 'upon me: and therefore thought my ſelf obliged to 'acquaint you with my laſt Will. You know how 'great the Reputation of my Father and Grandfather 'was, and how bright the Examples of Virtue, which 'they ſet the Empire, did appear. I was very un-'worthy to fill the place in which theſe great Men 'ſate; notwithſtanding I did ſucceed them; I do ne-'vertheleſs acknowledge my ignorance and unfit-'neſs.

'It is for this reaſon perhaps that Heaven has 'ſhorten'd the days of my Reign. I ought in this 'as well as in all other things to acquieſce; for you 'have all ſeen that I have hitherto received its Orders 'with an humble fear, and a profound reſpect. I 'have endeavoured to follow them, without ever de-'viating from them the leaſt in the World, I have 'alſo all my life time had in my Heart my Anceſtors 'inſtructions touching my Duty to Heaven, and to 'my People. On theſe two Heads I cannot accuſe 'my ſelf of any fault, and if my life has had any

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'Reputation, it is all owing to that teachableneſs, 'which has brought down upon me the bleſſings of the 'Sovereign Maſter of the World.

'It is on your account that I ſpeak this (addreſſing 'himſelf to his eldeſt Son) it is on your account, O 'my Son, be you the Inheritor of your Anceſtors 'Virtue, rather than of my Power and Crown. I 'make you a King, 'tis all that you can have of me; 'be a wiſe, vertuous and unblameable Prince, this I 'command you, and the whole Empire expects from 'you.

Under the Reigns of this Prince and his Son * it was that Peace, Honeſty, and Juſtice reigned in *China*, ſo that they oftimes ſent their Priſoners to dig or plough the Grounds, or get in the Corn, without thinking that the fear of puniſhment would make them run away. After Harveſt they came again to receive that puniſhment of their faults, which the Mandarins had appointed.

* *cam-vam.*

Laſtly, If we examine well the Hiſtory of *China*, we ſhall ſtill find that for three hundred years after, that is to ſay down to the times of the Emperor *Yeou-vam*, who reigned eight hundred years before Chriſt, Idolatry had not corrupted this People. So that they have preſerved the knowledge of the true God for near two thouſand years, and did honour their Maker in ſuch a manner as may ſerve both for an Example and Inſtruction to Chriſtians themſelves.

They had all along a ſtrict care to breed up Beaſts for Sacrifices, and to maintain Prieſts to offer them up; beſides that the internal Worſhip of the mind was preſcribed, they did oblige themſelves to a nice obſervation of even the ſmalleſt Ceremonies which might in any ways be ſerviceable to the Peoples Edification; The Empreſſes did themſelves breed up Silk-

Silkworms, and with their own Hands worked coverings for the Altars, and Habits for the Priests. The Emperors have oftimes Tilled the Ground which produced the Corn or Wine destined for Sacred uses. Again, the Priests never dared to offer Sacrifices before the People, unless prepared for it by an abstinence of three or seven days from Conjugal enjoyments. They have had their solemn Fastdays, and days of Prayer in Publick, especially when the Empire laboured under any publick Calamity, either by Barrenness, by Floods, by Earth quakes, or Wars from abroad.

With this outward Worship it is that the Emperors prepare themselves for Wars; for taking upon themselves the Government, or resisting the Provinces; and that Heaven may favour their Enterprises with success, they inquire of their Subjects of their own Faults that they may amend them, beliving that all publick Calamities are occasioned thro' their ill Government. We meet with a signal instance of this in History, which I cannot forbear reciting.

An universal barrenness having continued over all the Provinces for seven years together, (which time seems not far distant from the seven years of barrenness of which the Scripture speaks, and perhaps this thing a little looked into may serve to amend or confirm our Chronology*) the People were reduced to extreme want; and when Prayers, Fasts, and other acts of Humiliation were used without success, the Emperor not knowing any means proper to be used to gain relief from this publick misfortune, after having offered to God several Sacrifices to appease his indignation, he resolved at last to offer up himself for a Sacrifice;

* *This Emperor dyed 1753 years before the birth of Jesus Christ, and the seven years of scarcity, according to the Scripture, happen'd 1743 years before the same birth.*

For

For this purpoſe he called together the chief Perſons of his Kingdom, in the preſence of them all diſmantled himſelf of his Royal Apparel, and cloathed himſelf meanly. In this Habit, with his Head and Feet bare, in the ſame faſhion that a Criminal appears before a Judge, he marched attended by his whole Court, to a Mountain a good diſtance from the Town. When, proſtrating himſelf before the Divine Majeſty, to whom he paid his Adorations nine times, he ſpake in theſe words: *O Lord, you know the miſeries to which we are reduced. It is my ſins which have brought them upon my People, I come hither to own and acknowledge it in the preſence of Heaven and Earth. That I may the better amend my faults, give me leave, O Lord of all the World, to ask what Action of mine has more particularly given you offence. Is it the ſplendor of my Palace? I will take care to retrench what is ſuperfluous? Perhaps the profuſeneſs of my Table or the delicacy and Voluptuouſneſs of it have brought this ſcarcity: hereafter nothing ſhall be ſeen there but thriftineſs and temperance. The Laws permit to me the uſe of Concubines; but perhaps you diſlike that I have too many. I am ready to leſſen the number. And if all this be not ſufficient to appeaſe your juſt indignation, and you muſt have an Oblation; behold one, O Lord, I am heartily willing to dye, if thou wilt ſpare this good People: Let Rain come from Heaven on their Fields to relieve their neceſſities, and thunder on my Head to ſatisfie your Juſtice.*

The Princes Piety pierced the Clouds, for the Air was preſently overcaſt, and an univerſal Rain immediately fell, which did in due ſeaſon bring forth a fruitful Harveſt. When Idolaters ſeem ſcandaliſed at the Death of *JESUS CHRIST*, we uſe the Example of this Prince to juſtifie our Faith. You not only approve of this Action, ſay we to them, in which one of your Emperors diſrobed himſelf of all that was magni-

magnificent, and offered himſelf as a Sacrifice for his Subjects; but you admire it, and recommend it to Poſterity as a fit Pattern for all the Princes of the World: how then can you diſlike that the exceſſive love and kindneſs, which made *JESUS CHRIST* offer himſelf an Oblation and Sacrifice for all Men; and deſpoil himſelf of the brightneſs of his Majeſty to inveſt us one day with his Glory and Divinity?

Theſe footſteps of the true Religion which we find in *China* for ſo many Ages together, carry us naturally to make a reflection which will juſtifie the Providence of the Almighty in the Government of the World: People are ſometimes amazed that *China* and the *Indies* have been overſhadowed by the clouds and darkneſs of Idolatry, almoſt ever ſince the birth of our Saviour, while *Greece* a great part of *Africk*, and almoſt all *Europe* have enjoyed the clear light of Faith; but they never conſider that *China* for two thouſand years had the knowledge of the true God, and have practiſed the moſt pure Morality, while *Europe* and almoſt all the World wallowed in Error and Corruption.

God, in the diſtribution of his gifts, is not an unjuſt reſpecter of Perſons; yet he has laid out his times, to let his Grace ſhine forth in due ſeaſon, which like the Sun riſes and ſets in different parts of the World, according as People make a good or bad uſe of it.

I do not know whither I may make bold to add, that as the Sun, which by its conſtant motion hides itſelf to ſome to ſhew itſelf to others, has notwithſtanding at the years end diſtributed to every Country its equal Portion of light and warmth; ſo God by the ſecret and hidden courſe of his Grace and Spirit which have been communicated to the World, hath equally divided them to all People in the World, tho' in different manners and at different times. However

ever it be that God has made his wise distribution of Grace, I am sure of all Nations *China* has the least reason to complain, since no one has received a larger Portion than she.

The knowledge of the true God, which lasted many Ages after the Reign of *Cam vam*, and in all probability along while after the time of *Confucius*, was not always supported in the same purity. Their minds were possessed by Idolatry, and their manners became so corrupt, that the true Faith being but the occasion of greater ill, was by little and little taken away from them by the just judgment of God. Among all the Superstitions which followed hereupon; there were two sorts which were principally established, and do between them at this present comprehend almost all the Empire.

Li-Laokun gave rise to the first of these. He was a Philosopher who lived before *Confucius*; his birth was prodigious if you believe what his Followers say of it; for his Mother carried him more than fourscore years in her Flanks, from whence a little before her death he sprang out of her right side which opened itself. This Monster, to the sorrow of his Country, survived his Mother, and by his pernicious Doctrine in a short time grew famous: nevertheless he wrote several useful Books; of Virtue, of the good of avoiding Honour, of the contempt of Riches, of that incomparable retiredness of mind, which separates us from the World the better to know ourselves. He often repeated the following Sentence, which he said was the foundation of true Wisdom. *Eternal reason produced one, one produced two, two produced three, and three produced all things*: which seems to shew as if he had some knowledge of the Trinity.

But he taught that God was Corporeal, and that he governed other Deities as a King governs his Subjects. He applied himself mightily to Chymistry, of which some pretend he was the inventor. He beat his Brains likewise about the Philosophers Stone, and did at length fancy, that by a certain sort of Drink, one might be immortal. To obtain which his Followers practice Magick, which Diabolical Art in a short time was the only thing studied by the Gentry. Every body studied it in hopes to avoid death; and the Women thro' natural Curiosity, as well as desire to prolong their life applied themselves to it, wherein they exercise all sorts of Extravagancies, and give themselves up to all sorts of Impieties.

Those who have made this their professed business, are called *Tien se*, that is, *Heavenly Doctors*; they have Houses given them to live together in Society, they erect in divers parts Temples to *Laokun* their Master; King and People honour him with Divine Worship; and altho' they have Examples enough to have undeceived them from these errors, yet they vehemently pursue immortality, by his Precepts who could never gain it himself.

Time, which strengthens and confirms what is ill, did at length gain these false Doctors such a Reputation as made them almost innumerable. The Covenants which they make with the Devil, the Lots which they cast, their Magical wonders whither true or only seeming, make them dreaded and admired of the common Herd; and whencesoever it comes to pass, there is no body who does not give some credit to their Maxims, or does not hope to avoid Death by their means.

One of these Doctors *got himself so great a Reputation that the Emperor gave him the name *Cham-ti*; which is the name by which they call God himself, and signifies

* *Cham-y.*

fies *Supreme Emperor*. This piece of Impiety gave the killing blow to the antient Religion; for 'till then the *Chineſe* as much Idolaters as they were did always make a diſtinction between the *Cham ti*, and the other Gods. But by a juſt judgment from God the Family of that Prince was extinct, and the Empire which had hitherto obſerved its own Rules of Government, was the firſt time forced to ſubmit to thoſe of the Weſtern *Tartars*. This a famous *Colao* * who printed a Book could not but acknowledge. *In this time*, ſays he, *the Emperor* Hoei-tçoum *did againſt all manner of reaſon give the attributes of the Supreme God to a Man. This moſt powerful and adorable God above all the Spirits in Heaven, was ſenſible of the wrong done him; for he puniſhed ſeverely the wickedneſs of this Prince, and utterly rooted out his Family.*

* *Kieou-Kioun-Chan.*

The ſecond Sect which is prevalent in *China*, and is more dangerous and more univerſally ſpread than the former, adore an Idol which they call *Fo* or *Foë* as the only God of the World. This Idol was brought from the *Indies* two and thirty years after the Death of JESUS CHRIST. This Poyſon began at Court, but ſpread its infection thro' all the Provinces, and corrupted every Town: ſo that this great body of Men already ſpoiled by Magick and Impiety, was immediately infected with Idolatry, and became a monſtrous receptacle for all ſorts of Errors. Fables, Superſtitions, Tranſmigration of Souls, Idolatry and Atheiſm divided them, and got ſo ſtrong a Maſtery over them, that even at this preſent, there is no ſo great impediment to the progreſs of Chriſtianity as is th s ridiculous and impious Doctrine.

No body can well tell where this Idol *Fo*, of whom I ſpeak, was born; (I call him an Idol and not a Man, becauſe ſome think it was an Apparition from Hell) thoſe who with more likelihood ſay he was a

Man, make him born above a thouſand years before JESUS CHRIST, in a Kingdom of the *Indies* near the Line, perhaps a little above *Bengala*. They ſay he was a Kings Son. He was at firſt called *Che-Kia*; but at thirty years of Age he took the name of *Fo*. His Mother who brought him into the World thro' her right ſide, died in Childbirth: ſhe had a fancy in her Dream that ſhe ſwallowed an Elephant, and for this reaſon it is that the *Indian* Kings pay ſuch honour to white Elephants: for the loſs of which, or gaining ſome others they often make bitter Wars.

When this Monſter was firſt born he had ſtrength enough to ſtand alone, and he made ſeven ſteps, and pointed with one Hand to Heaven, and the other to the Earth. He did alſo ſpeak, but in ſuch a manner as ſhewed what Spirit he was poſſeſs'd withal. *In Heaven or on the Earth,* ſays he, *I am the only perſon who deſerve to be honoured.* At ſeventeen he married, and had a Son, which he forſook as he did all the reſt of the World, to retire into a Solitude with three or four *Indian* Philoſophers, whom he took along with him to teach. But at thirty he was on a ſuddain poſſeſſed, and as it were fulfilled with the Divinity, who gave him an univerſal knowledge of all things. From that time he became a God, and began by a vaſt number of ſeeming Miracles, to gain the Peoples admiration. The number of his Diſciples is very great, and it is by their means that all the *Indies* have been poyſoned with his pernicious Doctrine. Thoſe of *Siam* call them *Talapoins*, the *Tartars* call them *Lamas* or *Lama-ſem*, the *Japoners Bonzes*, and the *Chineſe Hecham*.

But this Chimerical God found at laſt that he was a Man as well as others. He died at 79 years of Age; and to give the finiſhing ſtroke to his Impiety, he endeavoured to perſuade his Followers to Atheiſm at his Death,

Death, as he had perſuaded them to Idolatry in his Life time. Then he declared to his Followers that all which he had hither told them was enigmatical; and that they would be miſtaken if they thought there was any other firſt Principle of things beſide nothing; *It was*, ſaid he, *from this nothing that all things ſprang, and it is into this nothing that all things muſt return. This is the Abyſs where all our hopes muſt end.*

Since this Impoſtor confeſſed that he had abuſed the World in his life, it is but reaſonable that he ſhould not be believed at his death. Yet as Impiety has always more Champions than Virtue, there were among the *Bonzes* a particular Sect of Atheiſts, formed from the laſt words of their Maſter. The reſt who found it troubleſome to part with their former prejudices, kept cloſe to their firſt Errors. A third ſort endeavoured to reconcile theſe Parties together, by compiling a body of Doctrine, in which there is a twofold Law, an interior and an exterior. One ought to prepare the mind for the reception of the other. It is, ſay they, the mould which ſupports the materials 'till the Arch be made, and is then taken away as uſeleſs.

Thus the Devil making uſe of Mens Folly and Malice for their deſtruction, endeavours to eraſe out of the minds of ſome thoſe excellent ideas of God which are ſo deeply ingraved there, and to imprint in the minds of others the Worſhip of falſe Gods under the ſhapes of a multitude of different Creatures, for they did not ſtop at the Worſhip of this Idol. The Ape, the Elephant, the Dragon have been worſhipped in ſeveral places, under pretence perhaps that the God *Fo* had ſucceſſively been tranſmigrated into theſe Creatures. *China* the moſt ſuperſtitious of all Nations, increaſed the Number of her Idols, and one may now ſee all ſorts of them in the Temples, which ſerve to abuſe the folly of this People.

It is true they ſometimes do not pay to theſe Gods all that reſpect which ſeems due to their Quality. For it often happens that if the People after worſhipping them a great while do not obtain what they deſire, they turn them off, and look upon them as impotent Gods; others uſe them in the moſt reproachful manner: ſome load them with hard names, others with hard blows. How now, *Dog of a Spirit*, ſay they to them ſometimes, we give you a lodging in a magnificent Temple, we guild you handſomely, feed you well, and often offer Incenſe to you, and after all this care which we take of you, you are ſo ungrateful as to refuſe what we ask of you.

Then they tye him with Cords, pluck him down, and drag him along the Streets thro' all the Mud and Dunghils, to puniſh him for the expence of Perfume which they have offered up to him for nothing. If in the mean time it happens that they obtain what they did deſire, then they take the Idol and with a great deal of Ceremony carry him back and place him in his Nich again, after they have waſhed and cleanſed him: They fall down to him, and make excuſes for what they have done. In truth, ſay they, we was a little too haſty, as well as you was ſomewhat too long in your grant; why ſhould you bring this beating on your ſelf? Were it not better to have granted our Petition of your own free will, rather than be forced to do it? But what is done can't be now undone, let us not therefore think of it any more, if you will forget what is paſſed we will guild you over again.

A few years ago there happened a paſſage at *Nankin*, which does very well diſcover what an Opinion the *Chineſe* have of their Gods. A Man whoſe only Daughter was very ill, tryed all the Phyſicians but without effect, he thought it therefore his beſt way to betake himſelf to the aſſiſtance of his Gods. Prayers,

Offerings,

Offerings, Alms, Sacrifices, and all other means were uſed to obtain relief. The *Bonzes* who were greaſed in the Fiſt promiſed that an Idol whoſe power they mightily boaſted ſhould grant her recovery. For all this the Woman dyed, the Father out of meaſure grieved reſolved to revenge himſelf, and to bring a formal accuſation againſt the Idol.

He put in his complaint therefore to the Judge of the place, in which after he had livelily ſhewed forth the deceitfulneſs of this unjuſt God, he ſaid that he deſerved an exemplary puniſhment for having broke his word. If this *Spirit*, ſaid he, could cure my Daughter, it is palpable cheating to take my mony, and yet let her dye. If he could not do it, what does he ſignifie? And how came he by his quality of Godſhip? Do we Worſhip him, and the whole Province offer him Sacrifice for nothing at all? So that he concluded it to be either from the Malice or Weakneſs of the Idol that the cure was not performed, wherefore his Temple he judged ought to be pulled down, his Prieſts ſhamefully diſmiſſed, and the Idol puniſhed in his own private Perſon.

The Buſineſs ſeemed of Conſequence to the Judge, wherefore he ſent it to the Governour, who deſiring to have nothing to do with thoſe of the other World, deſired the Vice-Roy to examine into it. After he had heard the *Bonzes*, who were extremely concerned at it, took their part, and adviſed him not to perſiſt in the Cauſe any longer: for, ſaid he to him, you are not wiſe, to concern your ſelf with theſe ſort of Spirits. They are naturally ill tempered, and I am afraid will play ſome ill trick. Believe me you had better come to an agreement. The *Bonzes* aſſure me that the Idol ſhall do what is reaſonable on his part, provided you on your part do not carry things too high.

But the Man who was almoſt mad for the death of his Daughter, did conſtantly proteſt that he would ſooner periſh than relinquiſh his juſt rights. The Sentence is given for me, ſaid he, the Idol fancied that he might commit any ſort of injuſtice without puniſhment, becauſe he thought no body would be bold enough to take him to task; but he is not ſo ſafe as he thinks, and a little time will ſhew which of us is the moſt wicked, and the moſt a Devil of the two.

The Vice-Roy could not now go back, and was fain therefore to grant a Tryal, he ſent the caſe to the Sovereign Council at *Pekin*, who remitted the Tryal to him again, he therefore Subpœna'd the parties. The Devil, who has but too many friends among all ſorts of Men, had alſo his ſhare among the Lawyers and Proctors, thoſe of them to whom the *Bonzes* gave largely, found their Cauſe good, and ſpoke with ſo much concern and vehemence that the Idol itſelf could not have pleaded better its own Cauſe. Yet they had to deal with a ſubtil Adverſary, who had been before hand with them, and had cleared the Judges underſtanding by a large Bribe, being thoroughly perſuaded that the Devil muſt be very cunning indeed, to withſtand ſo clear an Argument as this laſt was to the Judges.

In ſhort, after a great many hearings, the Man carried his point. The Idol was condemned to a perpetual baniſhment, as uſeleſs to the Kingdom, and his Temple was to be plucked down; and the *Bonzes* who repreſented him were ſeverely chaſtiſed; they might notwithſtanding apply themſelves to the ſervice of other Spirits to make themſelves amends for the damage they had received for loving this.

Can any one who has not loſt his ſenſes adore Gods of this Character, weak, fearful, and whom one may affront ſafely? But, alas! We may flatter our ſelves

ſelves that we are never ſo wiſe, yet how much is our Wiſdom diſtant from Reaſon, when it is diſtant from the true Faith.

Inſtead of coming hereby to a knowledge of the weakneſs of their Gods, the People grow more and more blind every day. The *Bonzes* are above all obliged to keep up their Credit and Reputation, becauſe of the advantage they make thereby. To bring this about the better, they make uſe of the following Maxims of Morality, which they take great care to propagate.

We muſt not think, ſay they, that good and evil are as confuſed in the other World as they are in this; there are there rewards for the good, and puniſhments for the bad; which has occaſioned different places to be ſet apart for the ſouls of Men, according to every ones Merit. The God *Fo* was the Saviour of the World, he was born to teach the way of Salvation, and to make Expiation for all our ſins.

He has left us ten Commandments. The firſt forbids the killing of any living Creature of what ſort ſoever; the ſecond commands not to take another Mans Goods; the third not to give up ones ſelf to Impurity; the fourth not to Lie; and the fifth to drink no Wine.

Beſides theſe they recommend to the Peoples practiſe ſeveral Works of Mercy. Entertain and nouriſh up, ſay they, the *Bonzes*; build them Monaſteries and Temples, that their Prayers and voluntary Penances may obtain for you exemption from that puniſhment which your ſins have deſerved. Burn Paper gilt and waſhed with Silver, Habits made of Stuff and Silk. All theſe in the other World ſhall be turned into real Gold and Silver, and into true and ſubſtantial Garments, which ſhall be given to your Fathers faithfully, who will make uſe of them as they have occaſion. If you do not regard theſe Commands,

mands, you shall be after your death cruelly tormented, and exposed to several *Metempsycoses* or transmigrations. That is to say you shall be born in the shape of Rats, Horses, Mules, and all other Creatures. This last point makes a great impression upon their minds.

I remember that being in the Province of *Chansi*, I was sent for to Christen a sick person. It was an old Man of threescore and ten, who lived upon a small Pension, which the Emperor had given him. When I came into his Chamber, O my good Father, says he, how much am I obliged to you, who are going to deliver me from a great deal of torment. Baptism, answered I, does not only deliver from the torment of Hell, but entitles us to the enjoyment of a place in Paradise: O how happy will it be for you to go to Heaven eternally to live in the presence of God! I do not, said the sick Man, understand what you mean, nor perhaps have I explained my meaning clearly to you, you know, Father, I have lived a long time upon the Emperors bounty. The *Bonzes*, who are perfectly well acquainted with all the transactions of the other World, assure me that I shall be obliged after my death, by way of recompense for my Pension to serve him, and that my soul will infallibly go into one of his Post Horses, to carry Dispatches from Court thro' all the Province. They have therefore been advising me to mind my duty in that new state; not to stumble, nor kick, nor bite, nor otherwise hurt any one: Run well, and eat little, and be patient, say they, and you may move the Gods to compassion, who often of a good Beast make at length a person of Quality, or a considerable Mandarin. I protest, Father, the very thoughts of it makes me quake, it never comes into my mind but I tremble; yet I dream of it every night, and sometimes methinks in my sleep I am already in the Harness,

Harneſs, ready to run at the firſt jerk of the Poſtilion. Then I wake in a great ſweat, and half mad, ſcarcely knowing whither I am a Man or a Horſe. But alaſs! What will be my ſorrow when this will be no more a dream but a reality.

This therefore, Father, is the courſe I took. They tell me that thoſe of your Religion are not ſubject to thoſe changes; that Men are always Men, and are in the other World of the ſame kind as they are here. I beg of you therefore to receive me among you. I know your Religion is hard to obſerve; yet if it had ten times more difficulties, I am ready to embrace it; and whatſoever trouble it put me to I had rather be a Chriſtian than be turned into a Beaſt. This diſcourſe and the condition the Man was in, wrought me into compaſſion; and afterwards conſidering with my ſelf, that God makes uſe of Ignorance and Folly to bring Men to the knowledge of the Truth, I took an occaſion from thence to undeceive him of his miſtakes, and to lead him into the way of Salvation. I inſtructed him a great while: at laſt he believed: and I had the comfort to ſee him dye not only with a clearer and better underſtanding of things, but farther with all the marks of a good Chriſtian.

In proceſs of time, the Superſtitions of the People grew ſo numberleſs, that I do not believe any Nation under the Sun is ſo full of whimſies as *China*. The Mandarins are obliged to condemn all theſe Sects as Hereticks, as indeed they do in their Books; but yet ſpringing themſelves moſtly from idolatrous Families, and having been inſtructed by the *Bonzes*, they in their practiſe follow the example of the common People.

Two of theſe *Bonzes* ſeeing one day in a rich Farmers Yard, two or three large Ducks, fell on their Faces before the Door, and ſigh'd and wept grievouſly.

The

The good woman seeing them out of her Chamber window, came down to see what was the occasion of their Tears. We know, said they, that the souls of our Fathers are transmigrated into those Creatures, and the fear we are in lest you should kill them, will without doubt go near to kill us: It is true, said the Woman, we did intend to sell them, but since they are your Fathers, I promise you we will keep them.

This answer was not for the *Bonzes* purpose. But, continued they, perhaps your Husband will not be so charitable, and then if any accident should happen to them, you may be sure it will kill us. At last after a long discourse, the good Woman was so far moved with their pretended grief, that she gave them the Ducks to look after for some time to comfort them. They took them with a great deal of respect, prostrating themselves twenty times to them; but that very evening they made an Entertainment of them for some of their company, and fattened themselves with them.

A Prince of the Blood lost a young Man for whom he had a particular love; a few years after he spoke of it with a great deal of warmth and concern to the *Bonzes*, who said, to him: My Lord, do not trouble your self any more, your loss may be repair'd; he whom you grieve for is in *Tartary*, and his soul is passed into a young Man's body; but there must be a great deal of mony to find where he is, and you must give good Presents to the Priests of that Country. This news pleased the Prince mightily so that he gave them what they desired, and a few months after they got a Boy any where, and gave him to the Prince instead of the Boy who was dead. Thus it is that the whole Country from the Peasant to the Prince are bubbled by these Ministers of Iniquity.

If

If they can't thus trick People out of their mony, they try to get it out of them by doing acts of Pennance publickly, which the People esteem them mightily for, and shew them a great deal of pity and compassion. I have seen them dragging after them a long Chain of Iron as thick as ones Arm, about thirty foot long, fastened to the Neck or Legs. Thus it is, say they, at every Door as they pass, that we expiate your Faults, sure this deserves some small Alms. Others in publick places knock their Pates with all their force with large Bricks, till they are almost cover'd with blood. They have several other penitential Actions; but what I was most surprised at was this.

One day I met in the middle of a Town a young *Bonze* of a good Mien, a genteel and modest look, such as might easily move any ones Compassion and Charity. He stood upright in a sort of a Sedan very close shut, the inside of which was like a Harrow full of Nails very thick, with their points sticking out towards the Man in the Chair, so that he could not bend either one way or t'other without wounding himself. Two Fellows were hired to carry him from House to House where he beg'd the People to have compassion on him.

He told them he was shut up in that Chair for the good of their Souls, and was resolved never to go out from thence till they had bought all the Nails (of which there were above two thousand) at the rate of six pence apiece, of which Nails the very smallest he said would derive incomparable blessings on them and their Families. If you buy any of them, you will do an action of Heroick vertue, and your Alms are not bestowed on the *Bonzes*, to whom you may take other opportunities of bestowing your Charity, but to the God *Fo*, in whose honour we are going to build a Temple.

In

In the mean while I happened to pass thro' the Street, the *Bonze* seeing me, came and told me the same tale. I told him that he was very unhappy to torment himself thus in this World for no good, and did councel him therefore to come out of his Prison, to go to the Temple of the true God to be instructed in heavenly truths, and submit to Penances less severe, but more wholesome. He was so far from being in a passion with me, that he answer'd me calmly and courteously that he was much obliged to me for my good advice, and would be more obliged to me still, if I would buy a dozen of his Nails, which would certainly make me have a good Journey.

Here hold your hand, says he, turning on one side, take these, upon the Faith of a *Bonze* they are the very best in all my Sedan, for they prick me the most, yet you shall have them at the same rate at which I sell the others. He spoke these words in such a manner as would have made me on any other occasion have laugh'd; but at that time his blindness raised my compassion, and I was strangely concerned to see that bond-man of the Devil suffer more to work out his own destruction, than a Christian need do to gain his Salvation.

Yet all the *Bonzes* are not Penitents. While some abuse the credulous by their hypocritical pretences, others get mony out of them by magical Arts, secret Thefts, horrible Murders, and a thousand detestable abominations, which modesty wont let me mention here. People who are only outwardly religious, spare nothing to gratifie their Passions, and if they can but escape the justice of Men, which in this place spares none who are caught wronging their Neighbour, they care not what they do in the Eyes of that God whom they will scarcely own.

Although

Although the generality of the People are prejudiced in favour of them, yet the wiſer ſort are always upon their guard againſt theſe Wretches; and the Magiſtrates always take great notice of what they do in their Monaſteries. It happened a few years ago that a Governour of a Town paſſing with his Train in the Highway, ſaw a great company of People got together, and had the curioſity to ſend to know what was the occaſion of their meeting there.

The *Bonzes* were ſolemnizing an extraordinary feſtival, they had ſet a Machine upon a Stage, at the top of which a young Man put out his Head over a little Rail which went all round the Machine. The Rail hid his Arms and all his Body; one could ſee nothing at liberty but his Eyes, which he rowled about as if he was diſtracted. Below this Machine an old *Bonze* appeared upon the Stage, who told the People that the young Man which they ſaw was going to Sacrifice himſelf according to Cuſtom in this manner. There ran by the Road ſide a deep River into which he would preſently throw himſelf headlong. He cant die, added the *Bonze*, if he would, becauſe at the bottom of the River he will be received by Charitable Spirits, who will give him as good a welcome as he can deſire. And indeed it is the greateſt happineſs that can poſſibly befal him: an hundred Perſons have deſired to Sacrifice themſelves inſtead of him; but we choſe him before the reſt, becauſe of his Zeal and other Virtues.

When the Mandarin had heard this ſpeech, he ſaid that the young Man indeed had a great deal of Courage; but he wonder'd much that he did not himſelf tell the People of this his reſolution: let him come down a little, ſaid he, that we may talk with him. The *Bonze*, who was confounded at this order, did all he could to hinder it, and did proteſt that the whole Sacrifice would be ineffectual if he

ſpake

ſpake a word, nay if he did but open his mouth, and for his part he could not anſwer for the miſchief ſuch a thing would bring upon the Province. For the miſchief you talk of, replied the Mandarin, I'le be reſponſible. And then he commanded the young Man to come down; he gave no other anſwer to theſe commands but hideous and frightful looks, and various diſtorſions of his Eyes which almoſt ſtarted out of his Head.

You may from hence, ſaid the *Bonze*, judge what violence you offer him in commanding him down. He is already almoſt diſtracted, and if you continue your commands you will make him die with grief. This did not make the Mandarin change his reſolution, but he ordered ſome of his Retinue to go up and bring him down. They found him tied and bound down on every ſide, with a gag in his mouth; and as ſoon as they had untied him, and taken away the gag from the poor Fellows mouth; he cried out as loud as he could bawl; Ah! my Lord, revenge me againſt thoſe Aſſaſſins, who were going to drown me, I am a Bachelor of Arts, and was going to the Court at *Pekin*, to aſſiſt at the Examinations there: yeſterday a company of *Bonzes* ſeized upon me violently, and this morning very early they bound me to this Machine, taking from me all power of crying out or complaining, and intending to drown me this evening, being reſolved to accompliſh their accurſed Ceremonies at the expence of my Life.

When he began to ſpeak the *Bonzes* were marching off, but the Officers of juſtice, who always attend the Governours, ſtopped ſeveral of them. The chief of them who had pretended juſt before that the young Man could not be drowned, was himſelf immediately thrown into the River and drowned, the others were carried to Priſon, and did after receive that puniſhment which they deſerved.

Since

Since the *Tartars* have been Emperors of *China*, the *Lamas*, another ſort of *Bonzes* have been eſtabliſhed there. Their Habit is different from thoſe of *China* both in ſhape and colour; but their Religion is the ſame with the *Chineſe*, and they worſhip the God *Fo*, they differ from the *Chineſe* only in a few particular ſuperſtitious practiſes. Theſe *Lamas* are Chaplains to the *Tartar* Nobility who live at *Pekin*; but in *Tartary* they themſelves are the Gods which the People worſhip.

There it is that the God *Fo* has his moſt famous ſeat, where he appears under a ſenſible figure, and as they ſay never dies. He is kept in a Temple; and an infinite number of theſe *Lamas* ſerve him with an ineffable veneration, which they ſtrive as much as they can to imprint upon the minds of all others whatſoever. When he dies, for he is but a Man placed there, they put in his room a *Lamas* of the ſame Stature, and as near as they can of the ſame Features, that the People may be the better deceived by it. Thus the People of this Country, and eſpecially all Strangers are eternally bubbled by theſe Impoſtors.

Among the different Religions exerciſed in *China*, I do not think it worth while to mention to your Highneſs a few *Mahometans*, who have lived for this ſix hundred years, in ſeveral Provinces, and are never diſturbed, becauſe they never diſturb any one elſe upon the ſcore of Religion, being content to enjoy it themſelves, or to propagate it there among their Kindred by Marriages. However it may be of uſe to tell you of a third Sect which is the Religion, or Philoſophy, or Policy of ſome of the learned, for one cannot tell by what name to call this Doctrine, which is ſo obſure that the very Profeſſors of it ſcarce underſtand what they teach. They call it in their Language *Iukjao*, and it is a Sect of learned Men.

That you may understand what I am going to tell you, you must know that Civil Wars, Magick, and Idolatry having put the Empire into confusion for many Ages, love of learning was quite cashiered, and there were found few Doctors who could by their Writings awaken the minds of Men out of that Lethargy into which ignorance and the corruption of Manners had lulled them. Only about 1070.* Some creditable Expounders were found, and in 1200. one Doctor did distinguish himself from all others for his extraordinary understanding. By his example they began by degrees to take some pleasure in reading antient Books which they had before thrown aside.

* After our Saviour.

Lastly in the year 1400. the Emperor being willing to stir up in his Subjects a love of Learning, made choice of fourscore and two of the most ingenious Doctors, whom he commanded to compile a System agreeable to the Sentiments of the Antient Writers, which might serve as a direction for the learned hereafter. The Mandarins who had the Commission, set themselves diligently to work; but being prejudiced with those Opinions which Idolatry had diffused all over *China*, instead of following the true sense of the Antients, they tryed by false Glosses and Interpretations to distort the words and sayings of the Antients to their prejudicate Opinions.

They spake of God as nothing different from Nature itself; that is from that power, energy, or natural Virtue which did produce, and put in order all the parts of the World, and which does still keep them in that order. He is, say they, a most pure and most perfect Principle; he is the Source of all things, and the Essence of all beings; and that which Constitutes the formal difference of every thing. They made use of those magnificent expressions of the Antients,

tients, that they might ſeem to keep to their Doctrine; but indeed they raiſed new Opinons, becauſe they underſtand hereby I cant tell what ſort of inſenſible ſoul of the World, wich they imagine ſpread thro' Matter, upon which it produces the ſeveral mutations we ſee. This is not that Supreme Emperor of Heaven all juſt and all powerful, the chief of all Creatures: in their Works nothing is found, but a better ſort of Atheiſm, and a licentious freedom from the Worſhip of God.

But, whether it was becauſe they were unwilling to expreſs themſelves plainly, or did accidentally make uſe of expreſſions of a larger ſignification than their meaning, yet they talk of Heaven as did the Antients, and aſcribe to Nature almoſt all thoſe perfections which we attribute to God. They tolerate willingly the *Mahometans*, becauſe like them they adore the Maſter and King of Heaven. They Perſecute all other Sects with great violence, which at Court they took up a reſolution utterly to aboliſh throughout the whole Empire.

Yet many reaſons perſuaded them from putting this reſolution in practice, the chief of which were theſe, even ſeveral among the learned were Diſſenters from this new eſtabliſhed Doctrine, for they could not ſhake off the prejudices they had ſucked in: beſides all the People were wholly byaſs'd in favour of Idols, ſo that their Temples could never be pulled down, but Inſurrections and Diſturbances muſt neceſſarily enſue. They were therefore contented to adjudge at *Pekin* all the other Sects Hereticks (which they ſtill do every year) without ſetting themſelves effectually to ſtop the practiſe of them.

Theſe new Books compoſed by their moſt learned Men, and honoured by the Emperors own approbation, were greedily received by every body. Some liked them becauſe they deſtroy'd all ſorts of Reli-

gion, and these make up the greatest number of this Sect. Others approved of them, because the Religion which they contained was so very little, that it cost them no pains nor trouble to practise it. And thus was the Sect of the learned formed, of whom one may justly say, they honour God with their Mouth and with their Lips, for they often say that we must adore and obey Heaven; but their Hearts are distant from him, seeing they explain those words in such a sort as destroys the very being of God, and stifles all sence of Religion.

Thus this People so wise heretofore, so full of Knowledge, and, (if I may use the expression) of the Spirit of God, are now in these last days miserably fallen into Superstition, Magick, Paganism, and lastly into Atheism itself, falling by degrees Story by Story till they come to the very bottom of the Building; becoming thereby enemies to that reason which they had so constantly followed, and abominable to that very Nature to which they now give such high Encomiums.

This is, my Lord, an account of the present State of *China*, with respect to the several Religions there in use. For as for the political Honours which they pay to *Confucius*, they are not Divine Worship, and the Palaces which are called by his name are not Temples, but Houses for learned Men to assemble in. I was unwilling to particularize their Ceremonies, their Opinions and their Morals. Besides that it would be tedious and endless, it is very difficult to give a certain account of them: because the *Bonzes* do every day invent new whimsies, and if they can but live at other Peoples charge by abusing them, they do not value whether they exactly follow the Doctrine of their Predecessors, which is in effect neither better nor freer from absurdities than their own.

Nothing

Nothing now remains but that I give your Eminence an account to which of these Sects, which divide the Kingdom, the Emperor is most inclinable. This Prince, who is naturally wise and politick, has always kept in with the People. As he is upon a Throne which the least blast may shake, he endeavours as much as he can to strengthen it by his Peoples love: he is so far from provoking them, that he makes himself very popular, yet not to such a degree, as his Father did, lest he should bring upon himself the Mandarins hatred; yet much more than did the antient Emperors, to the end that he may as much as possible sweeten that Yoak, which a new Government has put on their Shoulders.

He does therefore permit or rather tolerate Superstion: he pays a great deal of respect to several *Bonzes* of the first Rank, who have behaved themselves well in any of the Provinces or at Court; nay he does his own Temper that violence as to let some of them live in his Palace, those whom the Princess his Mother had before brought and established there. But tho' he thus favours their Persons, he is no slave to their Opinions. He perfectly understands the folly of them, and does upon several occasions laugh at those things which they enjoyn for Principles of Religion, as Extravagancies and Fables. He often sends those who speak to him of them to the Missionaries: *Hear*, says he, *those Fathers who reason so well, I am sure they will not be of your mind.* One day he said to Father *Verbiest* his Mathematician. *Why do not you speak of God as we do? People would be less set against your Religion. You call him* Tien-tçhu * *and we call him* Cham-ti. *Is it not the same thing? Will you leave the use of a good word because People give false Interpretations of it? My Lord*, said the Father, *I know that your*

* Tien-tchu *signifies Lord of Heaven*: Cham-ti *Sovereign Emperor.*

Majesty does follow the old Doctrine of China; *which several Doctors have forsaken: and if we should use their words, they would fancy we believe as they believe. But if your Majesty will by a Proclamation publickly declare that the word* Cham-ti *signifies the same in effect, that the Christians mean by* Tien-tçhu, *we are ready to make use of any one of them as soon as the other.* He liked the Fathers answer, but reasons of State hindred him from following his advice.

When the Queen Mother was dead, those who had the care of the Funeral committed to them, informed the Prince that it was necessary, according to antient Custom, to pull down part of the Palace wall, that the body might be carried thro' the breach; because that the Royal Family would be exposed to a great many misfortunes if the body was carried thro' the ordinary passages. *You do not talk rationally,* said the Emperor to them, *your heads are full of whimsies: What folly is it to think my good or bad fortune depends upon the way by which my Mother goes to her Tomb! It was my unhappiness to lose her, and to fear any misfortune after so great a loss, would be to dishonour her after her death, by superstitious Rites and ridiculous Ceremonies.* Some time after several Maids of Honour to the Empress, came and fell at the Emperors feet, and begged with Tears that he would suffer them, who had served the Empress here, to follow her into the other World, where their services might be needful to her. He said to them. *I have taken care of that already, you need not therefore put your selves to farther trouble about it.* And for fear left a cruel zeal might prompt them to lay violent hands on themselves, he commanded their Hair to be immediately cut off, and that they should be confined. When they are shaved, they fancy themselves useless, and unfit to serve Persons of Quality in the other World.

These

These Examples are enough to let us see that the Emperor is very far from giving himself up to all these popular extravagancies. He honours *Confucius* as the first and wisest Philosopher in the World; in several things he follows Custom, when he judges it much for his interest; at certain times of the year he offers Sacrifices in the Temples, according to antient practice, yet he says it is only in honour of the *Cham ti*, and that he adores no other but the Supreme Lord of the Universe. Thus far the instruction of the Missionaries have worked upon him. He believes in one God, but State Reasons and the gratification of his Passions which are opposite to the Spirit of JESUS CHRIST, have never suffered him to open his Eyes to the truth of the Gospel. The rigidness and severity of Morals which this requires, oftimes stops the most resolute, and we see every day persons in this World, who have a greatness of soul enough to deserve the name of Hero's, who do yet want courage when they ought to behave themselves as those who bear that of Christians.

Nevertheless this Prince would not have any one think that he rejects our Religion for want of courage. He told his mind to Father *Verbiest* one day in these words: *Your Law is hard, yet whatever difficulty was to be undergone, I should not stick one minute to be of it, were I convinced of the truth of it. If I was once a Christian, I am pretty well satisfied that in three or four years the whole Empire would be so too. For I am their Master.* We might have some hopes from these Sentiments of the Prince, if we were not on the other side persuaded that the love of pleasure, and the fear of giving occasion to some Revolution in the Empire were not almost invincible hindrances to his Conversion.

But who can find out the Almighty's designs? And who has hitherto penetrated into the mysteries of his

eternal Councils? Are not the Hearts of the greateſt Princes as well as of the meaneſt People in his keeping? It is from that Almighty hand that all our hopes are, which has already confounded an infinite number of Idols, and overthrown many of their Temples; it has made Vice-Roys, Miniſters of State, Princes, and one Empreſs ſubmit to the Yoak of Chriſtianity. The more the Converſion of the Emperor requires Miracles, the more worthy is it of the great power and infinite goodneſs of God, who is called Great for no other reaſon than for the great and mighty things which he hath done.

Thus, my Lord, if *Europe* continues to ſend into *China* fervent and devout Miſſionaries, we may hope that God will vouchſafe to make uſe of their Zeal for the accompliſhment of his great Work. I am in the moſt profound manner.

My Lord,

Your Eminence's moſt obedient

and moſt humble Servant.

L. J.

To Monſieur Rouillié, *Counſellor of State in Ordinary.*

Of the Eſtabliſhment and Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion in China.

Sir,

THE Ardent Zeal which you have always ſhewed towards eſtabliſhing and promoting the Chriſtian Religion in *China*, makes me hope that you will be pleaſed with the Letter, which I now take the boldneſs to write to you. You will not only read therein thoſe things which I have already had the honour to diſcourſe with you about ſo often, but alſo many other uſeful remarks, which I hope may be worthy your curioſity and attention.

It will without doubt bring you a great deal of comfort, by ſhewing you that your Care, your Prayers, and your Bounty have been ſeconded by Heaven; and that in contributing ſo much as you have done to the Converſion of ſo many Souls, you will at the end of the World be accounted a Father of many faithful.

But if in ſpight of all that I can ſay, you will not be made ſenſible of the great good you do there, for it is with the greateſt difficulty that you are brought to believe

believe you do good: you will at leaſt ſee that the fervent Miſſionaries, who for more than an Age have laboured in the large field of the Goſpel, are not altogether unworthy their Employment, and that the Fruits which they gather there, ſhould be an encouragement to all *Europe*, to perfect this great Work which by them has been ſo happily began.

Among other things which the Emperor objected againſt us when diſcourſing of the Chriſtian Religion, this was none of the weakeſt. If the knowledge of JESUS CHRIST, ſays he, ſometimes is neceſſary for Salvation; and if God deſires the Salvation of all Men; why has he ſo long kept us in ignorance and error? It is now above ſixteen Ages ſince your Religion, the only way Men have to obtain Salvation, has been eſtabliſhed in the World; we knew nothing of it here. Is *China* ſo inconſiderable as not to deſerve to be thought of, while ſo many barbarous Nations have been enlightned?

The Miſſionaries have very ſolidly anſwered this objection, and that with ſo good a Face of Reaſon, as did give ample ſatisfaction to the Emperor. I do not here tell you, Sir, their anſwer; you do your ſelf know all that could be poſſibly ſaid thereto. But perhaps it will not be tedious to you to let you know that *China* has not been ſo much neglected as it thinks. We cannot inform our ſelves of all that has paſſed in this New World, ſince the death of our Saviour; for the *Chineſe* Hiſtories ſeldom ſpeak of any thing but what concerns Political Government. Yet the Divine Providence would be ſufficiently juſtified in this point, if it had acted for the Salvation of *China* no more than has come to our knowledge.

There is no doubt but St. *Thomas* preached the true Faith in the *Indies*, and it is as certain that the *Indians* had then great dealings with the *Chineſe*, to whom almoſt all *India* was tributary. It is therefore very probable

bable that this Apostle, to whom the care of this New World was committed, did not neglect the best part of it, which was then as much distinguished above the rest of the Eastern parts, as *Italy* was above the Western in the most flourishing condition of the *Roman* Empire. So that perhaps he himself travailled there, or at least sent some of his Followers.

This Conjecture, which carries its own Evidence with it, does still receive confirmation, from what the *Chinese* Histories relate concerning those times. Their History says that a Man came into *China* and preached Heavenly Doctrine. He was not an ordinary Man, adds the History, his Life, his Miracles, and his Vertues made him admired by all the World. Furthermore one may read in an antient Breviary of the Church of *Malabar*, wrote in *Chaldee* these words, which are in the Office for St. *Thomas* his day. *It was by St.* Thomas's *means that the* Chinese *and* Æthiopians *were Converted and came to the knowledge of the Truth.* And in another place. *It was by St.* Thomas, that is to say, *by the preaching of St.* Thomas *that the Kingdom of Heaven went into the Empire of* China. And in an Anthem we read these words which follow: *The* Indies, China, Persia, &c. *offer up, in memory of St.* Thomas, *the worship due to thy holy Name.* We can't tell what Conversions he wrought there, nor how long Religion flourished; but this is certain that if Religion hath not been kept up in *China* till now, the *Chinese* may thank themselves, who by a criminal neglect and voluntary stubbornness, did so easily part with the gift of God.

Neither is this the only time wherein our Lord hath visited them. A great while after, that is in the seventh Century, a Catholick Patriarch of the *Indies* sent Missionaries thither, who preached the true Religion with good success. Altho' their History hath mentioned something of this, yet it is done in so few words,

words, and in ſo careleſs and obſcure a manner, that we ſhould never have had the happineſs of being throughly acquainted with this Miſſion, were it not for an Accident which happened a few Years ago, which it pleaſed God to bring about, for the ſtronger eſtabliſhing the Faith in this great Empire.

In the Year 1625, ſome Maſons digging near *Signanfou*, the Capital of the Province of *Chenſi*, found a long Table of Marble, which had been heretofore erected as a Monument in the manner they build them in *China*, and which time had buried in the ruins of ſome Building, or had hid in the Ground, ſo that no remains of it were viſible. This Stone which was ten ſoot long and ſix foot broad, was very nicely examined, the more for this reaſon, becauſe on the top of it there was a large Croſs handſomly graved, below which was a long diſcourſe in *Chineſe* Characters, and other Letters which the *Chineſe* did not underſtand; they were *Syriack* Characters. The Emperour had notice of it, and had a Copy of it ſent him, and did command that the Monument ſhould be carefully kept in a *Pagode* *, where it now is, about a mile from *Signanfou*. The ſubſtance of the Inſcription on the Table is as follows.

* *An Idols Temple.*

'There is a firſt principle of all things, of a ſpiritu-
'al and intelligent Nature, who created all things out
'of Nothing, and who ſubſiſts in three Perſons. At
'Man's Creation he endued him with original Juſtice,
'made him King of the Univerſe, and maſter of his
'own Paſſions; but the Devil drawing him into
'Temptation, corrupted his mind, and diſturbed the
'inward peace and innocence of his heart. Hence
'ſprang all thoſe Misfortunes which overwhelm hu-
'man kind, and all thoſe different Factions into which
'we are crumbled.

'Man,

'Mankind, who since that fatal Fall did always 'walk in Darkness, would never have found out the 'path of Truth, if one of these three Persons of the 'Divinity, had not taken upon him the Nature of 'Man, which Man we call the *Messia*. An Angel 'proclaimed his coming, and some time after he was 'born of a Virgin in *Judea*. This miraculous Birth 'was set forth by a new Star in the Heavens. Some 'Kings who observed the Star, came and offered Pre-'sents to the Divine Infant, that so the Law and Pre-'dictions of the twenty four Prophets might be ac-'complished.

'He governed the World by instituting a very plain, 'Spiritual and Heavenly Law. He established eight 'Beatitudes. He endeavoured to dissuade men from 'setting their hearts on the good things of this World, 'in order to fix in them a love of those good things 'which will never fail. He set forth the beautiful-'ness of the three principal Vertues. He set open the 'gates of Heaven to the Just, to which place he him-'self ascended at mid-day, leaving on Earth seven and 'twenty Books of his Doctrine, proper for the Con-'version of the World.

'He instituted Baptism for the washing away Sin, 'and lay'd down his Life on the Cross for all men 'without exception. His Ministers cut not off their 'Beards, but have their Heads shaved excepting a 'circle of Hair which they leave on. They have no 'Servants, for they make themselves Superior to none 'whether in the height of Prosperity or in the depth 'of Affliction. Instead of heaping up Riches they 'willingly impart their little all to those who are in 'want. They Fast both for mortification of them-'selves, and in observance of the Laws. They re-'verence their Superiours and honour all good men. 'They pray seven times a day for the Dead and the 'Living. They offer Sacrifice every Week, to purge

'them

'them from their Sins, and to purifie their Hearts.

'Even Kings who follow not this Law, whatſoe-'ver they do, can never make themſelves truly eſti-'mable among men. In the Reign of *Tai-tçoum* a 'moſt wiſe and honoured Prince, *Olopoüen* coming 'from *Judea*, after a long courſe of dangers by Sea 'and by Land, at laſt arrived at *China* in the Year of 'our Lord 636. The Emperour having notice of it, 'ſent a *Colao* to meet him in the Suburbs of the Im-'perial City; with Orders to conduct him to the Pa-'lace. When he came there his Law was examined, 'and the truth of it acknowledged; ſo that the 'Emperour in favour of him made the following 'Edict.

'No particular Name comprehends the true Law, 'neither are the Saints fixed to one place; they are 'ſcattered thro' the whole World, that they may be 'univerſally uſeful. A Man of *Judea*, of exempla-'ry Vertue is arrived at our Court: We have exami-'ned his Doctrine, and found it admirable, with no 'mixture of Pride, and built upon thoſe Principles 'which ſuppoſe the World had a beginning. This 'Law teaches the way of Salvation, and cannot but 'be extreamly uſeful to all our Subjects. I therefore 'judge it neceſſary that it be taught them. After-'ward he commanded that a Church ſhould be built, 'and nominated one and twenty Perſons to ſerve 'that Cure.

'*Kao* the Son of *Tai-çoum*, ſucceeded him in the 'Year 651, and endeavoured to make that Religion 'flouriſh which his Father had received. He highly 'honoured the Biſhop *Olopoüen*, and built in all the 'Provinces Churches for the true God. So that 'the *Bonzes* ſome Years after being alarm'd at the 'progreſs which Chriſtianity had made, uſed all means 'to ſtop the courſe of it.

'The

'The Persecution was great, and the number of the 'faithful grew small, when our Lord raised up two 'persons of extraordinary Zeal, who defended the 'Faith with so much vigour, that in a little time it 'recovered its former lustre. The Emperor on his part 'strove to confirm it more and more; even so far as 'to command five Kings to go to Church, and pro-'strate themselves, before the Altar, and to erect o-'ther Churches in several Towns to the Honour of 'the God of the Christians. Thus the Foundation, 'shook by the struggle which the *Bonzes* made, be-'came more solid and better fixed than ever.

'In the mean while the Prince himself continued 'to give great signs of his Piety; he made the Pi-'ctures of his Predecessors be carried to Church; he 'offered himself an hundred pieces of Silk upon the 'Altars; payed mighty respect to *Ki-ho*, a Missio-'nary newly arrived out of *Judea*, and all his life 'time omitted nothing that was necessary for the 'propagating the Gospel in his Dominions. *Ven-'min* who succeeded him in the year 757. inherited 'his Vertue as well as Crown. He built five Churches. 'He was famous for his other great Qualities as well 'as for his care of Religion.

'The following Emperors confirmed Christianity 'by their Edicts and Examples. We can pray for them 'without fearing that our Prayers will not be heard, 'for they were humble and peaceable; they bore with 'the faults of their Neighbours; and did good to all 'sorts of Men. Which is the true Character of Chri-'stianity, and is the true way to make Peace and 'Plenty flow into the greatest Kingdoms.

'Others of them were exercised in the Works of 'the brightest Charity. The Emperor *So-tçoum* of-'fered at the Altar, and built Churches; besides he 'assembled together the Priests of four Churches, and 'for forty days served them himself with great re-'spect;

'ſpect; he fed the Poor, cloathed the Naked, healed 'the Sick, and buried the Dead. It is to keep up the 'memory of theſe great Actions, and to let Poſterity 'know the preſent State of the Chriſtian Religion here, 'that we have erected this Monument in the year 782.

This, Sir, is a faithful Epitomy of what is remarkable in this famous remain of *Chineſe* Antiquity. The *Bonzes* who keep it in one of their Temples near *Signarfou*, have erected over againſt it, a long Table of Marble every way like it, with Encomiums upon the Gods of the Country, to diminiſh as much as they can the glory which the Chriſtian Religion receives from thence. The Chronicle of *China* confirms by the Order and Succeſſion of the Emperors what the Monument ſays of it; but I am apt to think that the Vertues of thoſe Emperors mentioned therein are exalted too much ſome of whom in Hiſtory are ſaid to have done as much for Paganiſm, as this ſays they did for Chriſtianity. However that be it is a plain teſtimony that the Faith was preached there and received by a great many perſons. It flouriſhed there at leaſt an hundred fourſcore and ſix years, and perhaps much longer for we have no account of its failure, for the very memory of it was loſt; and when the new Miſſionaries of our Society came thither, they found no ſign or footſtep of it.

It was in the year 1552. that Saint *Xavier* went thither in hopes to add this new Conqueſt to the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST. It ſeemed that that great Man had made but an Eſſay in the *Indies*, and if I may uſe the expreſſion, had but ſerved an Apprenticeſhip to that Zeal, which he would be perfect Maſter of in *China*. And ſurely *Moſes* never had a more ardent deſire to enter into the Holy Land, to gather with his People the Temporal Riches of that Country, than this Apoſtle longed to carry into this new World the Treaſures of the Goſpel. Both one and t'other

t'other dyed by the Providence of God, in a time when their long Voyages and infinite Labours seemed answered by a great probability of success.

The Scripture tells us *Moses*'s death was a punishment to him for his lack of Faith; Saint *Xavier*'s seems to be a reward for the abundance of his. God had a mind to reward his Zeal, his Labours, and his Charity; and was willing to defer for a time that torrent of Mercy which he designed for the Empire of *China*, that he might reward his Servant with that Glory, which he had procured for so many Nations. He dyed in the Isle of *San-cham*, or as we speak it *Sanciam*, under the Jurisdiction of the Province of *Canton*; it is well known that he lay in the ground several months, all which time God preserved him from the usual Corruption, from hence he was carried to *Goa*, where from that time he hath been honoured as the Protector of that place, and the Apostle of the East.

The touch of his body Consecrated the place of his burial. That Island became not only a famous place, but also an holy Land. Even the Heathens honoured it, and fled thither as to a City of Refuge. In the mean time Pirats haunted those Coasts, that no Vessels dared to go thereabouts, so that the place where this Sacred Tomb lay, was quite unknown to the *Europeans*; and it is but a little while ago that they discovered it by a particular accident.

In the year 1688. a *Portuguese* Vessel which coming from *Goa*, had on Board the Governour of *Macao*, was seized by a sudden gust of Wind, and forced to let the Ship drive towards these Islands do what they could. They cast Anchor between the Isles of *Sanciam* and *Lampacao*, which were so near one another as to make a kind of Haven. Contrary Winds continuing eight days, gave Father *Caroccio* a Jesuite, who was on Board, an opportunity of satisfying his de-

vout reſolutions. He went on ſhoar, and was reſolved in ſpight of Danger to go in ſearch of the Saints Tomb. The Pilot and moſt part of the Sailors followed him, they ſearched the whole Iſland but to no purpoſe.

At at laſt a *Chineſe*, an Inhabitant of the place, imagining with himſelf what it was which they ſo ardently ſought after, undertook to guide them, and led them to a place which all the Inhabitants reverenced, and where he himſelf began to perform Actions and Geſtures of Piety. The Father who could not underſtand him, began to ſearch about for ſome ſign or mark of the Sepulchre, and found at laſt a Stone five Cubits long, and three broad, upon which was cut theſe words in *Latin*, *Portugueſe*, *Chineſe*, and *Japoneſe*, *Here* Xavier *a Man truly Apoſtolical was buried.*

a. the Iſle of Sanciam. b Lampacao c the Port d the Tomb of Saint Xavier.

Then

Then they all fell on their Knees, and did with Devotion kiss that Earth, which the Tears and the last Groans of that Apostle had sanctified. The Inhabitants of the place came in and followed the Example of the *Portugueſe*: even the *English*, for one of their Vessels came to an Anchor in the same place, came thither to honour the Saint, and prayed a great while at his Tomb. Father *Caroccio* some time after said Mass in his *Pontificalibus*, while the two Vessels, the *English* and *Portugueſe*, did several times discharge their Artillery, and gave marks of their common joy.

Lastly, to preserve the memory of that holy place, they resolved to build a good square Wall all round the Tomb, and to dig a Ditch to secure it from all inundations. In the midst between these Walls they raised the Stone which they found overturned, and built an Altar, as a Memorial of the august Sacrifice of the Eucharist which had been offered up there, which might also serve to Celebrate it upon again, if either Accident or Devotion should carry the Ministers of JESUS CHRIST thither any more. The People of the place did themselves assist toward the carrying on this little work, and showed as much Zeal for the honour of the Saint as the Christians did.

This place is of itself very pleasant. You see there a small Plain extended from the bottom of a Hill, on one side of which is a Wood,, on the other are Gardens Cultivated; a Rivulet which turns and twines about, renders the Island very Fertile. It is not uninhabited, as some have wrote, there are seventeen Villages in it. The Land is manured, even the very Mountains, and the Inhabitants are so far from wanting the necessaries of Life, that the growth of their Island is enough to carry on such Commerce as yields them a moderate plenty.

You will eaſily pardon me, Sir, for this ſhort digreſſion concerning St. *Francis Xavier*. A Miſſionary can't ſpeak of him without being naturally inclined to enlarge about every thing that concerns this great Man. It was he who ſettled upon a ſolid Foundation all the Miſſions into the *Indies*, and who, in the laſt Years of his Life, encouraged his Brethren to enterprize the great Deſign of the Converſion of *China*. His Zeal paſſed into their minds and hearts; and tho' every body but *Xavier* thought it impoſſible that the Deſign ſhould take effect, the Fathers *Roger*, *Paſio*, and *Ricci*, all three *Italians*, did reſolve to ſpend all their pains, and if it were neceſſary, all their blood in this great Work.

The Difficulties which the Devil raiſed, did not diſcourage them. They entred one after the other into the Southern Provinces. The Novelty of their Doctrine brought them Auditors, and the Sanctity of their Lifes made thoſe Auditors have a favourable opinion of them. At firſt they heard them with Pleaſure, and afterwards with Admiration. Father *Ricci* above all diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Zeal and Underſtanding. For he was thoroughly inſtructed in the Cuſtoms, the Religion, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Country, all which he had ſtudied a long time before at *Macao*. He ſpoke their Language fluently, and underſtood their Writings perfectly; this was joyned to a ſweet, eaſie, complaiſant temper, and a certain inſinuating behaviour, which none but himſelf had, which it was hard to reſiſt; but above all, an ardour which the Holy Ghoſt inſtils into the Workmen of the Lords Harveſt; all this, I ſay, got him the repute of a great Man and an Apoſtle.

Not but that he met with a great many rubs in the work of God. The Devil overthrew his Deſigns more than once. He had the Superſtition of the People,

ple, the Jealousie of the *Bonzes*, and the ill humour of the *Mandarins* to deal with; all which violently opposed what he was about to establish. Yet he never gave over, and God gave him Perseverance, a Vertue very necessary in the beginning such Enterprises as these, which always meet with opposition, and which men of the best intentions in the World sometimes let fall, discouraged for want of present success to fortifie them in the prosecution of their Design.

Father *Ricci*, after many Years fruitless labour, had at last the comfort of seeing the Gospel flourish. He made many and mighty Conversions in the Provinces. The *Mandarins* themselves opened their eyes to the light of our holy Faith, which our Missionary carried even almost as far as to the Court. The Emperor *Vanli* then reigning, received him with great marks of Respect and Kindness: and among divers *European* Curiosities which the Father presented to him, he was so taken with some Pictures of our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*, that he ordered them to be set up in an high place in his Palace, as things to which he would have a respect shewn.

This kind Welcome from the Emperour, gained him the Good will of all the Lords at Court; and in spight of the opposition of some Magistrates, who according to their custom, could never deal handsomly by a Stranger, he bought an House at *Pekin*, and gained such a Foundation and Establishment there, as hath been since the support of all the Missions into this Empire.

Religion was by this means known (and without it it would have been impossible to have supported it) thus it came into esteem, and was preached by the new Missionaries, who made great advantage of Father *Ricci*'s first Labours. The Court and all the

Provinces reſounded every where with that adorable Name *, which the Jews heretofore, thro' the reſpect they bore to it, never ſo much as pronounced to their Proſelites, and which the new-converted *Chineſe* named to their Country-men with a reſpect yet greater. For the *European* Workmen being but few, gave an opportunity to ſeveral *Mandarins* to preach the Goſpel, and there were ſome of them who by their Zeal and Underſtanding promoted the Affairs of Religion as much as the moſt fervent Miſſionaries.

* *Jehovah.*

It is true that theſe Succeſſes were ſometime after interrupted; for it is the Character of Truth, that it makes it ſelf Enemies, and the lot of the Chriſtian Religion always to be perſecuted. Providence being deſirous to try the Fidelity of theſe new Chriſtians, and to re-inflame the Zeal of their Miniſters, permitted the Idol Prieſts to oppoſe the preaching of the Goſpel. So that it very near came to paſs, that a Cabal of ſome *Bonzes*, ſupported by ſeveral *Mandarins*, had by the deſtruction of Father *Ricci* overthrown in one minute the Work of ſeveral Years.

But the greateſt danger to this Holy Man and his Miſſion came from his own Brethren, I mean the *European* Chriſtians. Some *Portugueſe* of *Macao* incenſed againſt the Jeſuits, reſolved to deſtroy them in *China*, altho' with them they deſtroyed the Chriſtian Religion there. They could not but know what the Holy Intentions of thoſe Fathers were in going thither, yet they accuſed them as Spies, who under pretence of preaching the Goſpel, ſecretly managed a Conſpiracy, and had a deſign to ſeize upon *China* by the force and aſſiſtance of the *Japonneſe*, *Hollanders*, and *Chriſtians* of that Country.

It muſt needs be a great amazement to any one, who obſerves the rage and bitterneſs of theſe falſe Brethren, who altho', engaged by their Religion to propagate

propagate the work of God even with the loss of their Lives, were yet resolved to destroy it by such vile and false Aspersions.

This Ridiculous Story which was set forth with Heat and Violence, and built upon some Circumstances which carried some shew of Truth, easily found Credit among the *Chinese*, naturally excessively Suspicious, and very well satisfied by a long experience that the least Commotions or Rebellion might bring the most powerful Empires to ruin.

The Persecution was very sharp, the weak Christians were scandalized, and did Apostatize from the Faith. Father *Martinez* was taken up, imprisoned, and bastinado'd, till at length he died thro' his Torments: and if this Accusation of the Christians had ever came to the knowledge of the Court, it is very probable it would have been the utter overthrow of Christianity here. But our Lord stop'd the growing Evil in its bud, and by the means of a *Mandarin* a particular Friend of Father *Ricci* gave Peace to the Mission and Liberty to the Evangelical Workmen.

After having surmounted a great many Obstacles of this nature, and preached the Gospel to an infinite number of People, this fervent Missionary died. The Heathens judged him the wisest and most understanding Man of his Age, the Christians loved him as their Father, and the preachers of the Gospel made him a Model whereby to form themselves. He had the satisfaction of dying in the midst of a plentiful Harvest; but was disturbed that there were so few Workmen to get it in. So that he recommended nothing more earnestly to his Brethren who assisted him in his last Sickness, than to receive with all imaginable joy and comfort all those who should come to partake of their Labours. *If they find,* says he to them, *when they arrive here Crosses from the Ene-*

mies of Chriſtianity, do you ſweeten the bitterneſs of them, by demonſtrations of the moſt tender Friendſhip, and moſt inflamed Charity.

The Churches of *China*, of which he was the main ſupport, were ſhaken by his Fall; for altho' the Emperour for ſome Years afterward ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat favourable to the Chriſtian Religion, yet in 1615, there aroſe againſt it the cruelleſt Tempeſt that it had ever yet ſuffered. It was occaſioned by one of the principal *Mandarins* of *Nankin* *. They chiefly ſet upon the Paſtors, thereby the eaſier to diſperſe the Flock. Some were cruelly beaten, others baniſhed, almoſt all impriſoned and carried afterwards to *Macao*, after having the honour of ſuffering a thouſand injuries and reproaches for the love of *JESUS CHRIST*.

* *Chinkio.*

The Tempeſt laſted near ſix Years; but at laſt the Perſecutor being himſelf accuſed, was by Gods Judgment deprived both of his Offices and alſo of his Life. His death gave the Chriſtians ſome reſpite, who after that multiplied more than ever, thro' the labours of a great many Miſſionaries. It was about this time * that the Right Reverend Fathers of the Order of St. *Dominick* joined with us; many of whom do at this time labour in *China* with a great deal of Zeal and Succeſs.

* 1631.

About this time Father *Adam Schaal* a *German* appeared at Court, and added a new Luſtre to Chriſtianity which had but newly ſprang up again. He was perfectly skilled in Mathematicks, and made uſe of his knowledge therein to obtain the Emperors kindneſs; he was in a little time ſo highly in the Emperours favour, that he thought he ſhould be able by his own Intereſt alone to Eſtabliſh the Chriſtian Religion ſolidly. He began to make uſe of his Intereſt with good ſucceſs, when an Inſurrection overturned the whole

whole Government, and with it all his promising hopes.

This great State whose Power seemed to be enough to secure it from the most violent Shock whatever, was made sensible then that there is nothing constant in this World. Some Robbers being met together, by the access of multitudes of Male-contents who joined them formed vast Armies: they burned Towns and plundered whole Provinces. *China* presently changed its Aspect, and from the most flourishing Empire became the Stage for the most bloody War. Never were there seen so many Murthers and Barbarities. The Emperour being surprised at *Pekin*, strangled himself for fear of falling into the hands of the Victors. The Usurper was soon drove out of the Throne by the *Tartars*, who seiz'd upon it. The Princes of the Blood who in different places were proclaimed Emperours, were vanquished or killed. Then all the *Mandarins* rose, some declaring for *Tartary*, others for Liberty: others only carried on the Fighting Trade, in hopes to make their private Fortunes from the publick Ruin.

Some of those last were rather Monsters than Men, who giving themselves to all that Licentiousness which the most inhumane Cruelty and Barbarity could prompt them to, made whole Provinces desolate, and shed more blood to satisfie their Brutality, than the most ambitious Prince in the World would for the Conquest of an Empire.

Religion, which groaned amidst those Troubles, had the comfort nevertheless of seeing many great Persons Converted; one Empress with her Son were Baptised; scarce either of them lived after their reception of the Faith, the fruits of which they could not enjoy but in the other World. Lastly, the *Tartars* by their Valour, and by a Conduct equal to the Policy of ancient *Rome*, made themselves Masters of *China*,

China, and in a few Years obliged all the Provinces to ſubmit to a foreign Yoak.

Then we thought Religions Caſe deſperate; but God, who needs not the aſſiſtance of Men when he hath a mind to ſupport his own Work, inſpired on a ſudden this new Prince with a greater affection for the Chriſtian Religion, than we dared hope for from the *Chineſe* Emperours. He not only took away the Government of the Mathematicks from the *Mahometans*, which they had poſſeſſed for 300 Years, and gave it to Father *Adam*; but by a ſpecial Privilege he ſuffered that Father to apply himſelf to him immediately in all things which concerned the Miſſionaries, without firſt paſſing thro' the Formalities of the Courts of Juſtice, who are very ſevere to Strangers. This ſignal Favour, joined with many others, raiſed up the Courage of the Chriſtians, and gave the Heathens greater liberty to cloſe with the true Religion. Many Perſons of the beſt Quality at *Pekin* deſired Baptiſm; the Provinces follow'd the Example of the Court, and the Harveſt became ſo plentiful, that the Workmen were too few to gather it in.

Thoſe who were employed therein, laboured with ſuch an hearty Zeal, that we do at this preſent feel the effects of it. There were found Perſons of eminent Vertue, Prudence, and Underſtanding, whom God had formed during the Troubles and Civil Wars, and which the Spirit of the Almighty drew out of the Chaos, like ſo many Stars, to ſhed forth the Light of the Goſpel, unto the moſt hidden parts of this vaſt Empire, accompanying their Preaching with Signs and Wonders.

Among thoſe extraordinary Men Father *Faber*, a Frenchman, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt. I had the happineſs to tarry ſome time in that Province which was allotted to his care; and I have, after ſo many Years, found the precious remains there,

there, which are the necessary consequences of Holiness. Those who were witnesses of his Actions, tell to their Children the Miracles which he wrought to confirm them in their Faith, and altho' one need not believe all which they relate of him, we cannot nevertheless deny that God did in many occasions give an extraordinary concurrence in several great things which he enterprised for his Glory.

It is worth knowing after what manner he founded the Mission of *Ham-tçoum*, a Town of the first Rank in *Chensi*, two days Journey distant from the Capital. He was invited thither by a Mandarin, and the small number of Christians which he found there, made him the more laborious to encrease their Number. God put into his hands a means of doing this which he never expected. One of the great Boroughs, which in *China* are as big as the Towns, was then overrun by a prodigious multitude of Locusts, which eat up all the Leaves of the Trees, and gnawed the Grass to the very Roots.

The Inhabitants after having used all imaginable means, thought fit to apply themselves to Father *Faber*, whose repute was every where talked of. The Father took from thence an occasion to explain the principal Mysteries of our Faith, and added that if they would submit themselves thereto, they should not only be delivered from the Present Plague, but that also they should obtain innumerable Blessings, and Eternal Happiness. They embraced it willingly, and the Father to keep his word with them, marched in Ceremony into the Highways in his Stole and his Surplice; and sprinkled up and down holy water, accompanying his Action with the Prayers of the Church, but especially with a lively Faith. God heard the Voice of his Servant, and the next day all the Insects disappeared.

But

But the People, whoſe minds were wholly bent upon the things of this World, as ſoon as they ſaw themſelves delivered, neglected the Counſel which the Miſſionary had given them. They were therefore immediately puniſhed, and the Plague grew worſe than it was before. Then they accuſed one the other of their want of Faith; they ran in Crouds to the Father's Houſe, and caſting themſelves at his Feet: we will not riſe up Father, ſaid they, till you have pardoned us. We confeſs our fault, and proteſt that if you will a ſecond time deliver us from this Affliction with which Heaven threatens us, the whole Borough will immediately acknowledge your God, who alone can work ſuch great Miracles.

The Father, to increaſe their Faith, made them beg a great while. At laſt inſpired as before, he ſent up his Prayer, and ſprinkled his holy water, and by the next day there was not an Inſect to be found in the Fields. Then the whole Borough being brought over to the Truth, followed the guidance of God's Holy Spirit; they were all inſtructed and formed into a Church, which, tho' it was abandoned for ſome years, is ſtill reckoned one of the devouteſt Miſſions in *China*.

They ſay alſo of this Father that he has been carried over Rivers thro' the Air, that they have ſeen him in an extaſie, that he foretold his own Death, and did ſeveral other ſuch Wonders; but the greateſt Miracle of all was his life, which he ſpent in the continual exerciſe of all the Apoſtolical Virtues, in a profound Humility, in a ſevere Mortification, in a ſettled Patience, proof againſt all ſorts of Injuries, in a flaming Charity, and a tender Devotion to the Mother of God, all which he practiſed to his death; to the Edification, and I may ſay the Admiration even of the Idolaters

While

While Christianity spread its Root deep throughout the Provinces, it flourished every day more and more at *Pekin*; the Emperor did not seem far from it. He came often to our Church, and did there adore the Divine Majesty in such an humble manner as would have been commendable in a Christian. There are still Writings from his own hand, wherein he acknowledges the beauty and the purity of our holy Law; but a Heart set upon sensual pleasures can never follow the directions of the Spirit; When Father *Adam* has been pressing upon him. *You are*, said he, *in the right, but how can you expect that any one should be able to practise all these Laws? Take away two or three of the difficultest, and after that perhaps we may agree to the rest.* Thus this young Prince divided between the Voice of human Nature and Grace, thought that we might favour Nature at the expence of Religion; but the Father gave him to understand, that we were only the Publishers, not the Authors of the Gospel. Nevertheless, my Lord, says the Father to him one day, tho' we propose to the corrupt World a body of Morals which surpass their forces to comply with, and Mysteries which are above their Reason to comprehend, we do not from thence despair to have our Doctrine received; because we do it by his order who can enlighten the most darkned Understanding, and strengthen the most weak Nature.

These difficulties which the Emperor looks upon as insuperable did not take any thing from that kindness and respect which he bore to Father *Adam*. He always called him his Father, placed always his confidence in him: he made him twenty visits in two years; and gave him leave to build two Churches in *Pekin*; and order'd those which in the Persecution had been demolished in the Provinces to be rebuilt: nay granted him whatever could any ways contribute toward

toward the ſolid eſtabliſhment of the Faith, which without doubt would have made an infinite progreſs, had not a violent Paſſion changed the temper of that Prince, and took him away from us at a time when we had the moſt need of his Protection: we may juſtly ſay that his death was owing to an extraordinary grief for the loſs of a Concubine. This Woman, whom he had taken from her Husband, inclined him to the worſhip of falſe Gods, to that exceſs that he was wholly altered from what he was before as to his Opinions of Religion. And that time it was that he fell ſick, his mind being full of Notions from the *Bonzes*, who ſwarmed in his Palace, and being vehemently tormented by his Paſſion, ſo that he could not get a Moments reſt. In the mean while as he loved the Father extremely, ſo was he deſirous to ſee him once more before he dyed.

At this laſt meeting the good Miſſionary's Bowels yearn'd upon him. He was kneeling at the Prince's Beds-feet, whom he had Educated as his own Son, in hopes one day to make him Head of the true Religion. He ſaw him there under the load of a violent Diſtemper, diſturbed with the impure deſires of unlawful Love, given up to Idols and their Prieſts, juſt upon the brink of death, and that death an Eternal one. The Emperor, who ſaw him in this concern, would not let him ſpeak upon his Knees; but raiſed him up, and heard his laſt advice with ſomewhat leſs prejudice againſt it than uſual; ordered him afterward a preſent of Tea, and diſmiſſed him with ſuch marks of tenderneſs as touched him to the bottom of his Soul, of which he was the more ſenſible, becauſe he never could bring it about, to work in him a true Converſion.

His death was equally fatal to the *Bonzes*, who were thereupon driven from the Palace, and to the true Religion which was thereby brought within a nails

nails breadth of destruction. Many Churches built upon the Coasts of the Maritime Provinces were destroyed, by an Edict which commanded that every body on the Coasts should retire ten or eleven Miles within Land, and destroy all Habitations within that compass all round the Coasts, because a famous Pirate made use of them in carrying on a War against the Emperor. They were also just going to ruin *Macao*, and order was given to drive the *Portugueſe* thence, when Father *Adam* used his utmost effort to save it. At this time all his Credit and Interest, which he had employed so much to the advantage of Religion, ended. For in a little time he became the object of the most bloody Persecution that ever the Church suffered.

The four Mandarins who had the Regency during the Emperors minority, moved upon different Topicks, and especially animated against the Christians, to whom this Father was the main support, put him and three of his Companions into Prison. Other Preachers of the Gospel were summoned to *Pekin*, who met with the same treatment, and were loaded each with nine Chains. They burned their Books, their Beads, and Medals, and whatever else carried the Face of Religion; nevertheless they spared the Churches; as for the Christian Flock they met with a more mild usage.

Those famous Confessors had the honour to be dragged before all the Seats of Judgment. There it was that their Enemies did admire their Courage. But they were above all moved by the miserable condition of Father *Adam*. That Venerable old Man, who but a day or two before was the Oracle of the Court, and the Favourite of a great Emperor, now appeared in the form of a Slave, loaded with Chains, and oppressed with Infirmities, dejected by the weight and burthen of Age, but much more by that of calumny

lumny which labour'd to blemiſh his Innocence. He had a ſort of Catarrhe which hindred him from making his defence; but Father *Verbieſt* forſook him not, and anſwered for him, to his Enemies, in ſo ſenſible a manner, that the Judges could not enough admire the Conſtancy of the Perſon accuſed, nor the heroical Charity of the Perſon who defended him. However as innocent as he was, he was condemned to be ſtrangled, which is in *China* an honourable kind of Death; but afterwards, as tho' they repented that they had not been unjuſt enough, they repealed the Sentence, and gave another, wherein the Father was condemned to be publickly expoſed in the Market-place, and be hacked alive into ten thouſand pieces.

The Supreme Court ſent the Sentence to the Regency, and to the Princes of the Blood to have it confirmed; but God who had till then ſeemed to have relinquiſhed his Servant, began to ſpeak in favour of his Cauſe by a terrible Earthquake. The whole Land were confounded at this Prodigy. Every body exclaimed that Heaven itſelf would puniſh the injuſtice of the Magiſtrates: who therefore to appeaſe the People opened all the Priſons in the Town, and made an Act of Oblivion for all Criminals, excepting the Confeſſors of JESUS CHRIST who were ſtill kept in Chains, as tho' they had been the only Victims for whom Heaven had no concern.

But becauſe there arrived divers Prodigies, and in particular fire conſumed great part of the Court of Juſtice, at laſt fear obtained that from theſe unrighteous Judges, which innocence could not. They ſet Father *Adam* at liberty, and permitted him to go home to his Houſe, till the Emperor ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of him. This great Man blemiſhed, indeed to outward appearance, by an ignominious Sentence which was never repealed; but in truth full

of

of glory, for having defended the honour of Religion by exposing his own life, dyed a little while after, worn away by the toil of an Apostolical life, but more by the hardships and inconveniences of a troublesome Prison.

His death was too precious in the Eyes of God, to be unaccompany'd with some signal blessing upon the sorrowful remains of persecuted Christianity. It is true that the Missionaries of the Provinces were banished to *Canton*, among which three were *Dominicans*, one a *Franciscan*, (and another of the same Order dyed in Prison) and one and twenty Jesuits; yet four were kept at the Court, whom the Providence of God made use of afterwards to settle Christianity again in its pristine splendor.

God himself revenged the innocence of his Servants. *Sony* the first Mandarin in the Regency, the most dangerous Enemy the Fathers had, dyed a month or two after. The second, named *Soucama*, was afterwards indicted and condemned to a cruel death, his Goods Confiscated, his Children, in number seven, had their Heads cut off, excepting the third, who was cut to pieces alive, the punishment which that wicked Judge had design'd for Father *Adam*, and with which God chastised his Crimes in the Persons of his Children. *Yam-quam-sien*, who had been the chief Instrument in the Persecution, fared no better than them. After the death of Father *Adam* he was made President of the Mathematicks, and had the charge of the Kalendar of the Empire committed to him. Father *Verbiest* accused him, and plainly made appear the ignorance of this pitiful Mathematician.

This was a bold stroke, because the Presidents Party was very strong, and the flames which had caused the Persecution were not yet quenched. But many things concurred to give good success to this Enterprise. The understanding of the Father, the

kindneſs which the new Emperor had for the *Europeans*, but eſpecially the particular Providence of God which did ſecretly manage this important Affair. For it is certain that in the ſeveral tryals whereby they proved the goodneſs of our Mathematicks, the Heavens did ſo exactly agree with what our Fathers had foretold, even above the certainty which our Tables and Calculations could promiſe us, that it ſeemed as tho' God had guided the Stars, in ſuch a courſe as was neceſſary to juſtifie our Miſſionaries account of them.

The Preſident of the Mathematicks uſed his beſt endeavours to defend himſelf; and becauſe he could not hide his Ignorance in Aſtronomy, he endeavoured to put upon the Judges, and perſuade them that the Chriſtian Religion contained much greater errors than thoſe he was guilty of. In the midſt of ſome meetings where the Emperor was preſent, he behaved himſelf in ſuch manner as the Emperor could ſcarcely bear with him. He layed his Hands acroſs, and cryed out as loud as he could: *See here, do but obſerve what theſe Fellows adore, and what they would have us worſhip too, a Man who was hanged, a perſon who was crucified, let any one judge hereby of their underſtanding and good ſenſe.*

But all theſe Excurſions ſerved only to diminiſh his own Credit. This wicked perſon, more blameable for his Crimes than for his Ignorance, loſt his charge and was condemned to death. Notwithſtanding the Emperor ſuſpended the Execution of the Sentence by reaſon of his extraordinary old Age; but God himſelf executed his Sentence of Vengeance. He ſmote him with an horrible Ulcer, and by his ſorrowful death, delivered Religion from this Monſter of Iniquity.

Then

Then the care of the Mathematicks was committed to Father *Verbiest*, the antient Missionaries were recalled to their old Churches, but forbid to go about to build new ones, or to labour in the Conversion of the *Chinese*. Lastly, to magnifie our happiness, the memory of Father *Adam* was mightily respected even at Court. He was publickly justified and cleared, his Charges and Titles of honour were remanded him, and his Ancestors made Nobility. The Emperor himself appointed considerable sums of mony to build him a stately Mausoleum, which at this present is to be seen, in room of a Sepulchre, adorned with Statues and several Marble Figures according to the Custom of the Country.

Thus it is that God by a continual Vicissitude, proves the constancy of the Faithful by Persecution, and encourages them again by punishing their Persecutors. This happy Peace which the Church gained thro' Father *Verbiests* means, encouraged the Missionaries to repair that damage which Heil had done. Besides the Jesuits, there were several Fathers of the Orders of St. *Francis*, and St. *Augustin*, who entered into the Lords Vineyard. New establishments were gained every where, and notwithstanding any Prohibition a great number of Heathens were Converted to the Faith, being more afraid of eternal punishment, than of that with which the Laws of Man seemed to threaten them.

So ardent and so hasty a Zeal will perhaps make you amazed; but besides that Charity is always hazardous, many things contributed to confirm those who might else be afraid of fatal consequences. The first of these is the great Authority which the Missionaries have acquired at Court in a small time. Especially the Emperor is satisfied that they despise Honours, and that at home they lead an Austere life;

The Prince is inform'd of this ſuch ways that it is impoſſible he ſhould be deceived. He had information from Spies, of all that paſſed in their Houſes; even ſo nicely as to know their Mortifications and corporeal Penances.

He ſends alſo to the Fathers Houſes a young *Tartar*, of good parts, under pretence to learn Philoſophy, but in reality to diſcover the moſt ſecret things in their Families, and to be himſelf, I think, an occaſion of offence. He ſtays there a year, without knowing what the Princes intentions are, who having ſent for him into his preſence commands him to tell him all the private diſorders of theſe Fathers, and eſpecially how they have behaved themſelves towards him. And when theſe young Men conſtantly bear Teſtimony of the Fathers innocence: I ſee very well, ſays the Emperor, they have ſtop'd your Mouth with Preſents, but I know a way to open it again. Then he makes him be ſeverely flaſhed at ſeveral times, yet is not the pain enough to make the young *Tartar* ſpeak againſt his Conſcience. Which pleaſes the Prince mightily, who would be diſturbed to find himſelf deceived in the Idea which he has formed to himſelf of theſe fervent Miſſionaries.

This obliges him afterward to take their part in an Aſſembly of the Mandarins, ſome of which do not eſteem the Miſſionaries becauſe their outward carriage ſeems ſo good. *As for that Matter,* ſays the Emperor to them, *neither you nor I can find fault with them. After all that I can do to get information, I am perſuaded that theſe People teach us nothing but what themſelves practice, and they are indeed as modeſt as they appear outwardly to be.*

The ſecond reaſon which engaged the Emperor to favour the Miſſionaries, was the great underſtanding of Father *Verbieſt*, who in a ſmall time was reckoned the learnedſt

learnedst Man in the Empire in all Faculties. His Reputation is every where spread abroad, and upon many occasions his Opinion has the repute of an Oracle. Some Mandarins one day speaking of the Trinity, and using it as a Fable, one of them said, *I do not know what the Christians mean, and am as much puzled as you; but Father* Verbiest *is of that opinion: what say you to that? Can a Man of his sence and understanding mistake?* They all held their Tongues, and seemed to yield to this reason. So true is it that the use of humane Learning is so far from being (as some think) opposite to the Spirit of the Gospel, that it sometimes serves to establish it, and to render the most obscure mysteries therein credible.

The third Reason, is that hearty love which the Emperor believes the Missionaries have for him: It is true the Missionaries omit nothing which they think will please him; and as they are the most inflexible and resolute against doing any thing contrary to their Religion, so are they the most complaisant and ready to comply with all the reasonable requests of the Emperor. A Rebellion which happened at this time, put it into Father *Verbiests* power to do the Crown a considerable piece of Service.

Ousanguei, that famous *Chinese* General, who had brought the *Tartars* into the Empire, thought he had then a good opportunity to drive them out again. He was naturally courageous, and in *Chensi* commanded the best of the *Chinese* Soldiery, and had got together a vast deal of mony. This made him set up to be Emperor, and made him believe he could easily compass his design. And indeed he so ordered his matters that he made himself presently Master of the three great Provinces *Yunnam*, *Soutchouen*, and *Gueitcheou*, afterwards a great part of the Province of *Houquam* acknowledged him. So that these possessions and *Chensi*, which he had in possession a good

while before made him Maſter of almoſt a third of *China*.

Theſe Conqueſts ſeemed to be the more ſecure to him, becauſe at the ſame time, the Vice-Roys of *Quamtoum* and *Fokien* followed his example, and gave the Emperor on that ſide a mighty diverſion, and beſide a powerful Pirate with a great Fleet attacked and in few days took the Iſland *Formoſa* at the ſame time.

Leſs than this would have ruined the *Tartars*, if they had all concerted their buſineſs together; but jealouſie which does oft overthrow the firmeſt Leagues, ruined their Projects. The King of *Fokien* fell out with that of *Formoſa*, and to preſerve himſelf from being damaged by his Fleet, made his Peace with the Emperor, who gave him ſuch aſſiſtance as that he made his party good. The King of *Quantoum* being unwilling to be any ways under the direction or command of *Ouſanguei*, left him, and put himſelf under the Protection of the *Tartars*, who turned all their Forces againſt this laſt Rebel, more formidable than all the reſt together; for he was Maſter of all the Weſtern Provinces, and the ſucceſs which his Troops had hitherto met with, gave them Heart and Courage enough to undertake any thing.

After the Emperor had tryed many ſeveral ways to no purpoſe, he ſaw plainly that it was impoſſible to force them from the places where they had entrenched without uſing his great Artillery: but the Cannon which he had were Iron, and ſo heavy that they dared not carry them over ſuch ſteep Rocks, as they muſt do to come to him. He thought Father *Verbieſt* might be aſſiſtant to him in this matter; he commanded the Father therefore to give directions for caſting ſome Cannon after the *European* manner. The Father preſently excuſed himſelf, ſaying that he had lived his whole life far from the noiſe of War, that he was

there-

therefore little instructed in those affairs. He added also that being a Religious, and wholly employed in the concerns of another World, he would pray for his Majesty's good success; but that he humbly begged that his Majesty would be pleased to give him leave not to concern himself with the warfare of this World.

The Fathers Enemies (for a Missionary is never without some) thought that now they had an opportunity to undermine him. They persuaded the Emperor that what he commanded the Father to do, was no ways opposite to the will or intention of the Gospel: and that it was no more inconvenient to him to cast Cannon than to cast Machines and Mathematical Instruments, especially when the good and safety of the Empire were concerned: that therefore without doubt the reason of the Fathers refusal was because he kept Correspondence with the Enemy, or at least because he had no respect for the Emperor. So that at last the Emperor gave the Father to understand, that he expected obedience to his last Order, not only upon pain of losing his own life, but also of having his Religion utterly rooted out.

This was to touch him in the most sensible part, and he was indeed too wise to stand out for a nicety or a scruple at the hazard of losing all that was valuable. I have already assured your Majesty that I have very little understanding in casting Cannon, said he to the Emperor; but since you command me I will endeavour to make your Workmen understand what our Books direct in this affair. He took therefore upon himself the care of this Work, and the Cannon was proved before the Emperor, and found to be extraordinary good. The Emperor was so well pleased with the Work, that he pulled off his Mantle, and in the presence of the whole Court gave it to Father *Verbiest* for a token of his Affection.

All the Pieces of Cannon were made very light and ſmall, but ſtrengthned with a ſtock of Wood from the mouth to the breech, and girt with ſeveral bands of Iron; ſo that the Cannons were ſtrong enough to bear the force of the Powder, and light enough to be carried thro' any, even the worſt Roads. This new Artillery did every way anſwer what they propoſed from it. The Enemy were obliged to leave their Intrenchments in diſorder, and ſoon after to Capitulate; for they did not think it poſſible to hold out againſt thoſe any longer, who could deſtroy them without coming themſelves into reach.

Ouſanguei was himſelf dead: his Son *Hom-hoa*, who carried on the War, ſtrangled himſelf thro' deſpair; and the reſt of them were in a ſmall time utterly routed. So that the Emperor then began to Reign in Peace, and continued more and more to ſhew marks of Favour and Affection to the Miſſionaries. So that Father *Verbieſt* has often ſighing ſaid, that the Lord's Vineyard was now open, that the Heathens themſelves gave liberty to enter upon the Harveſt, but that yet there were ſcarce any Workmen to bring it in.

They ſend to him for Paſtors from every place, *Tartary*, the Kingdom of *Corea*, the Provinces of *China*, which have been left deſtitute by the death of their antient Paſtors, invite or rather preſs him to ſuccour them. Neither does this ſcarcity come from the *Europeans* want of Zeal, but from the differences which have aroſe between the ſacred Congregation, who ſend Vicars Apoſtolical into the Eaſt, and the King of *Portugal*, who pretends to a right to nominate all the Biſhops there, excluſively to any ſuperiour Eccleſiaſtical Power.

This Diſpute cools the ardour of thoſe fervent Miſſionaries, who dare not engage themſelves where they muſt incur either the indignation of their Holy Father,

ther, or of a mighty Prince, both which things are very formidable. And thus the Work of God stood still, and those precious minutes were lost, which the favour of a great Emperour and the diligence of a zealous Missionary, might have made so useful to the firm establishing our Holy Faith. But this is one of the *Arcana* of Providence, which, after it hath confounded all the opposition of the enemies of the Gospel, even at the expence of working Miracles, does sometimes suffer that the Zeal of Catholicks should do more harm to Religion, than the Hatred and Jealousie of Idolaters.

Sometime after my Lord Bishop of *Heliopolis* was sent by the sacred Congregation with some French Ecclesiasticks, full of ardour to reform and encrease the new Christianity. This courageous Prelate had once already missed his Voyage: For contrary Winds having obliged him sometime before to put in at *Manilla*, a considerable Island under the Spanish Government, he was taken up upon suspicion there, and obliged to return back into *Europe* by the way of *Mexico*. This accident which had broken his first measures, served only to fill his mind with new and those greater ones. He came to *Paris*, where his good intentions were well known. *Rome* heard him with pleasure, and followed his Projects in all that respected the Eastern Missions. So that he came honoured with a Power from the Holy See, and laded with the Alms of the Faithful, who expected nothing less from his Zeal than the Conversion of the New World.

He therefore once more passed over the Seas, and happily arrived at *China*, where he began to scatter abroad that Flame which should warm all the Missionaries. The Jesuits and other Religious not only acknowledged his Authority, but also took the new Oath, which the sacred Congregation had appointed, altho'

altho' the King of *Portugal* had abſolutely forbad it. For they thought that that Prince, in whom the love of Religion had always prevailed before his private intereſt, would not take it ill when he ſhould know that their refuſal of it might have occaſioned the deſtruction of Chriſtianity in *China*, and perhaps of the Miſſions in all the other parts of the Eaſt.

This was matter of great joy to the Biſhop, who after this happy beginning, made ready, according to his former notions, to new Till this Vineyard of the Lord, whether he thought himſelf ſent like the Prophet heretofore *. *Ecce conſtitui te ſuper gentes, ut deſtruas, & diſperdas, & diſſipes, &c.* But God Almighty was ſatisfied with his good Intentions, and took him to himſelf a few months after his arrival. His death greatly ſurpriſed all the Faithful, it did eſpecially afflict the fervent Eccleſiaſticks who were the Companions of his Voyage; the other Miſſionaries ſubmitted with reſignation to the Will of God, being perſwaded that whatſoever Providence appoints, is always for his Glory, and for the good of the Elect, if they make a right uſe of it.

* *Jer.* 1. 10.

This was ſweetned by the arrival of two other Biſhops, who a little while after ſupplied his place under the Title of Vicars Apoſtolical. The firſt was Monſieur *d' Argolis*, an *Italian* of the Order of St. *Francis*, noted among thoſe of his Order for his excellent Vertues, and extraordinary Knowledge. He had been employed in the chiefeſt buſineſs there, and our Holy Father thought he could not make choice of a wiſer Man than he to place at the Helm of ſo flouriſhing a Miſſion. As he went by *Siam*, Monſieur *Conſtance* underſtanding his worth preſented him to the King, who would fain have kept him in his Kingdom; but becauſe the Orders of the Holy See obliged him to go farther, he reſolved at leaſt to ſhew him

him some marks of his esteem and affection toward him, in ordering him, and two of his Companions of the same Order, a considerable Pension. So that had it not been for the Revolutions which a little while after happened in his Kingdom, this Prince worthy of a better Fortune, would have had his Missionaries in *China*, as well as the most zealous Princes in *Europe*.

Since this wise Prelate hath been in *China*, the natural sweetness of his Temper hath very much contributed to the comfort of the Faithful, and conversion of the Heathen. He hath visited all the Provinces which the Holy See committed to his care, consecrating Priests, teaching and exhorting them, administring the Sacrament of Confirmation, uniting all their affections as much as possibly he could, whose different interests seems to have cooled their mutual Charity to one another in JESUS CHRIST. And tho' one would think that the *Portugueſe* could never have a respect for him, because their pretensions are wholly opposite to this institution of Vicars Apostolical, yet he has behaved himself with so much Prudence, that all Nations here think themselves particularly obliged to him.

The second Bishop whom the Holy See has dignified with the Title of Vicar Apostolical, is Monsieur *de Basilee* a *Chineſe*, educated by the Fathers of Saint *Francis*'s Order, afterwards taking upon himself the Order of St. *Dominick*. When he was only a Missionary, he had a flaming zeal for the Conversion of his dear Country, and during the Persecution of Father *Adam*, he was the main support of Religion in all the Provinces which he travelled through, and strengthned in the Faith. When he was consecrated Bishop, he performed all his Duties perfectly well, and the Holy See did so far approve of his Conduct as to let him nominate his Successor. He nominated his Vicar-General

General the Reverend Father *de Leoniſſa*, an *Italian* of St. *Francis*'s Order, who in his private Life might have been a Pattern to the moſt ſtrict Religious, and in the important Employment of Vicar Apoſtolical, has ſhewn that he has all that Zeal, all that Prudence, and all that Conſtancy, which the Government of a great Church requires.

My Lord Biſhop of *Baſilée* after he had thus choſen this worthy ſucceſſor of his Apoſtleſhip, fell ſick at *Nankin*, and died full of thoſe happy Viſions which God gives even in this World to his Saints. At his Death that Faith ſhined brightly, which had animated him in his Life-time; and his laſt minutes, wherein he appeared to be fulfilled with the moſt ſenſible touches of Chriſtian hope, ſeemed to give him an antepaſt of the Joys of Paradiſe. All his trouble was for the Miſſionaries by whom he was affectionately beloved, and for the Chriſtians who loſt in him the firſt Prieſt, the firſt Religious, and the firſt Biſhop that ever *China* had yet given to Chriſtianity. And as his bleſſed Memory was every where ſpread abroad, they have ſet up his Picture in ſeveral places; which the Reverend Father *de Leoniſſa* ſent to the ſacred Congregation, to preſerve the Memory of a Prelate whoſe own Merit, as well as our particular Obligations to him, ought to make eternally reſpected.

Beſides this the Pope honoured Mr. *Maigrot* and Mr. *Pin* with the Title of Vicars Apoſtolical, both of them Doctors of the *Sorbon*, diligent, zealous, and ſet upon following the Intentions of the Holy See, and in a word Companions of Mr. *Heliopolis*, and Inheritors of a double portion of his Spirit.

If the number of Miſſionaries had been anſwerable to that of the Paſtors, the Churches in *China* had now been perfectly filled; but, as I have ſaid, the over care which every one has taken to provide

for

for it exclusively of others, has rendered People less desirous of going. Good men, nay even those who have occasioned these disorders, have mourned for them in secret. Some zealous Persons have endeavoured to remedy this. My Lord Bishop of *Munster* and *Paderborn*, whom the care of his own Diocese did not hinder from extending his care even as far as the East, gave a settlement for six Missionaries for ever to *China*; but dying a little while after, his last Will was never executed. Others in *France*, in *Spain*, in *Italy*, took a great deal of pains to help this forsaken Mission, but they could never compass their designs.

Lewis the Great, who is himself as zealous for establishing the Gospel, as all the other Princes put together, among the great Designs which he has been intent upon to make Religion flourish in *Europe*, thought that he ought not to neglect that good which he might do in *Asia*. He was very sensible of the Necessities of *China*, which Father *Verbiest* had represented to him in one of his Letters, in the most sensible manner in the World; and although he very well knew, that he could not make Missionaries (a quality which no body can give us but the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST) he doubted not but that Religiouses who were exactly skilled in Mathematicks, in attaining, according to his Orders, an exact knowledge in Astronomy, might at the same time with good success, labour according to the design of their Institution, in the Conversion of Infidels. He was very well satisfied, that of all the means which human prudence could advantageously make use of in the most holy Actions, there were none which promoted the concerns of Religion in *China* more than the Mathematicks.

Being therefore willing at once to satisfie his zeal for the advancement of the Gospel, and the desire which

which he had of bringing the Sciences to perfection, he made choice of ſix Jeſuits whom he thought capable of giving good ſatisfaction to the Learned, and Inſtruction to intelligent Perſons. Thoſe who were thus appointed, could have wiſhed they had all the abilities neceſſary for this Employment: They did nevertheleſs ſet out with a good Will, being ready to ſacrifice their Lives and all their ſmall Talents to the greater Glory of God, and by conſequence to the pious Deſigns of the greateſt Prince in the World.

When we came into *China*, we found it in the Condition I have been relating, the Harveſt was plentiful every where, but it was almoſt deſtitute of Workmen; or (to make uſe of Father *Intorcetta*'s words, one of the moſt noted Miſſionaries) drowned in thoſe Tears, which the ſorrow of ſeeing her ſelf abandoned forced continually from her: *Benedictus Deus qui fecit nobiſcum Miſericordiam ſuam, liberavit vos à naufragio, ut prope naufragam noſtram miſſionem ab aquis lacrimarum, ſummique mœroris eriperet, vos omnes in corde ſervo, & tanquam veros Societatis filios viroſque Apoſtolicos intimis animi præcordiis amplector, &c.* Thus he ſpake to us in his firſt Letter, to encourage us to aſſiſt in the glorious Labours of his Miſſion.

Providence put it into our power in a little time to employ our ſelves uſefully there; and if we had done no other good than was the drawing after us by our Example ſeveral other Miſſionaries who followed us, and who now are full of their holy Labours in the Work of God; it would be a great comfort to us, and a very great advantage to *China*. But that which is much more comfortable is, that we have hereby contributed very much toward removing thoſe lets and hindrances to the propagating the Goſpel of which I ſpake before. For at the Remonſtrance of Father *Tachard*, ſupported alſo by that of the Reverend Father General, *Innocent* XI. ſuſpended the Oath,

Oath. And after *Clement* VIII. granted to the King of *Portugal* to nominate three Bishops, one of *Pekin*, the other of *Nankin*, and the third of *Macao*. And at this present our Holy Father, who in his own self hath all the Zeal, all the Piety, and all the Wisdom of his Predecessors, animated by the same Spirit, and moved (if I might do my self the honour of saying so) with what I have had the honour to represent unto him of the present State of these Missions, is about to regulate all the particulars therein by the prudent Councel and Advice of the sacred Congregation. To the end that hereafter nothing may be so much laid to heart as the Interest of Religion, and that all Kingdoms of *Europe* being united in the Love of JESUS CHRIST, may with one consent labour to bring about and perfect this great Work.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a general View of the Establishment and Progress of Christianity in the Empire of *China*, from the Preaching of the Apostles till these last Times. This Church heretofore very Famous, but after that wholly overturned by Superstition, hath at last been re-established one Age ago by one of the greatest Men of our Society, and augmented by the Labours of a great many Missionaries, governed by wise Prelates, honoured by the Protection of many Emperours, supported by the Bounty of all the Princes of *Europe*; and, which is more for its Glory, persecuted by all the enemies of Truth, and made precious in the Eyes of God by the Chains, the banishment and blood of the Confessors. I am with all imaginable respect,

SIR,

Your most humble
and most obedient Servant,

L. J.

To

To the most Reverend Father De la Chaize, *Confessor to the King.*

Concerning the Manner how each Missionary preaches the Gospel in China, *and of the Fervency of the New Christians.*

Most Reverend Father,

ALtho' the important Affairs of *China*, which detain me at present at *Rome*, require all my Application, and seem to be my Excuse if I am wanting in performing any Parts of my other Duties so exactly as I could desire; I cannot nevertheless in the least forget both the Obligations which I my self have to you in particular, as well as the Missions in the East in general.

It was you, most Reverend Father, who formerly drew out the Platform of them, who just then made Choice of their Ministers, whom your Testimonials, together with the Esteem of one of the greatest Princes upon Earth, have rendred in Process of Time more Renowned than all their particular Qualifications.

This Royal Protection, under which we have undauntedly affronted Dangers; those Letters written on our behalf to Sovereigns and their Officers; those magnificent Presents, those regularly settled Pensions, those extraordinary Helps, (and what we value much more)

more) those so grave Counsels, savouring so much of the Spirit of God, wherewith you have in a manner hallowed our First Voyages, and which we still look upon as the safest Rule of our Behaviour and Conduct, are Benefits either received from your self, or procured by your means. 'Tis but just, most Reverend Father, that in what part of the World soever we be, we should testifie our Acknowledgments. For my part, I am perswaded that one cannot give you more solid Demonstrations of them, than by maintaining by our great Zeal, what you have performed to our Advantage. I supposed you would be satisfied, and that at least I should perform my Duty, by acquainting you with the Success wherewith it hath pleased God to crown our Labour; and what Benefits we may hope to reap from the Missionaries which you your self will form, or at least who shall come to us out of your hands.

In a Word, the Time I shall employ in writing to you upon this Subject, is so far from any ways diminishing that due Care, and constant Endeavour to promote the welfare of our Missions, that without all doubt, it will much contribute to their future Establishment; for I hope that your Protection becoming thereby more effectual and solid, will more advance our Affairs, than all the Pains and Care which I can possibly take for their Success.

Pursuant to the First Project that we laid, we were all of us to stay at *Pekin*, in the Palace, and Service of the Emperor; but Providence otherwise order'd it, and they at last gave way to our Inclination, which moved us to disperse our selves all over the Provinces, for the propagating of Religion. They were content to detain Father *Gerbillon* and Father *Bouvet* at Court, where they immediately applied themselves to the study of Languages with such Success, that they were quickly in a Condition to assist the Christians, yea,

and to be employed by the Emperor in several important Affairs. The most considerable, was the Peace between the *Moscovites* and *Chinese*; the Treaty of which, was then afoot 300 Leagues from *Pekin*, whither Father *Gerbillon* was sent with Prince *Sosan* who was nominated Plenipotentiary for the Empire.

Nipchou was the place where the Ministers of the Two Nations assembled; each of them having a Body of Souldiers attending, to terminate if Occasion served, what the Negotiation could not decide: the Haughtiness of both, did oftentimes make them fly out into extremes, which would have proved fatal to both Parties, if Father *Gerbillon* by his Discretion had not moderated Animosities. He continually passed from Camp to Camp, made Speeches, propos'd Expedients, pacified their Minds, and he dissembled whatever might be apt mutually to exasperate them in the Conclusion: He so dexterously managed the common Interests, that the Peace was concluded to the Satisfaction both of *Chinese* and *Moscovites*. Prince *Sosan* was so well pleased with the Zeal and Wisdom of this Father, that he declared publickly, that if it had not been for him, all had been in a desperate Condition; he expresst himself about the matter, to the Emperor to the same effect, insomuch that this Prince had the Curiosity to be acquainted with him. He found him to be a very sensible Person, capable, sincere, forward to execute, and even to anticipate his Orders. This Character wonderfully pleased the Emperor; he had a mind to have him near his Person, at the Palace, in the Campaign, and in his Progress into *Tartary*, where he bestowed upon him so many signal marks of Esteem, that the Grandees of his Court, might have perhaps conceived some Jealousie from them, had not the Father's Modesty won him the Affection of every Body.

These First Favours were followed by an extraordinary

dinary one that was much better reliſhed by this Miſſionary: He pitch't upon him for his Tutor in Mathematicks and Philoſophy conjointly with Father *Bovet*, whoſe merit he likewiſe much eſteem'd The Paſſion this Prince hath for Sciences, makes him very intent upon Studies every day in a manner Two or Three Hours together, which he ſpares from his Pleaſure: It is more than probable, that by the inquiry into natural Truth, Providence will conduct him by degrees to the eternal Fountain of Truth, without which, all others ſerve not ſo much to perfect the Mind, as to puff it up with Pride in the eyes of Men, and render it inexcuſable before God.

Father *Verbieſt* had already begun to explain theſe Sciences to him; but, beſides his making uſe of the *Chineſe* Tongue in his Lectures, which is not proper, by reaſon of its often repeated Equivocals, to illuſtrate Notions otherwiſe obſcure enough of themſelves: Beſides that, I ſay Father *Verbieſt* died. Theſe Fathers ſuppoſed the *Tartarian* Tongue would be better liked by this Prince, and that it might ſerve their turn the better to make their Notions intelligible. It happened according to their Expectation, and the Emperor became in a ſhort time ſo capable, that he compoſed a Book of Geometry. He afterwards gave it to the Princes his Sons, and undertook to be their Maſter in it; he call'd them together every day, explain'd to them the moſt difficult Propoſitions of *Euclid*; yea, and this Prince having upon his Shoulders the Government of one of the moſt potent Empires of the World, did not diſdain, with his Rule and Compaſs in his Hand, to ſpend his Time in the Family in Speculations, which Intereſt alone ſcarce makes delightful to private Perſons.

Whilſt theſe Two Fathers by their Credit made themſelves fit to be in a ſhort time the main Support of Religion, Father *Fontaney*, Father *Viſdelou*, and my

self did endeavour not to be unserviceable in the Provinces. Father *Fontaney* went to *Nankin*, Father *Visdelou* took Care of the Churches of *Chansi*, where I also remained some time with him, from whence afterwards I removed to *Chensi*, the ancient Place of Father *Faber*'s Mission, the Christians of which Place, notwithstanding their having been deserted this many Years, do nevertheless preserve their first Fervency, and are still look'd upon as the *Mould* of that great Flock, and *Model* of other Believers. We understood at that Time by our own proper Experience, what was often told us, that *the Harvest truly was great*, and that *happy is that Labourer whom the Master of the Harvest doth please to make use of to gather it in.* Every thing is matter of Consolation in this glorious Employment; the Faith of the new Converts, the Innocence of the Ancient, the Aptness of the Children, the Devotion and Modesty of Women; but yet one is more especially affected by some eminent and exemplary Conversions, to perceive the Work of Grace now and then wrought in the hearts of Idolaters.

The Truth is, these are in respect of us convincing Proofs of that Truth which we preach and declare: For indeed, by what secret Charm could we be able to animate dead Minds, and raise them, (if I may presume so to say) to Reason, to God, to all the Maxims of the most pure and refined Morality; Minds that have been buried, and immersed from their very Infancy in Flesh and Blood? What Force and Power, what Blandishment could be able in an instant, to bring into Captivity rebellious Minds under the Yoak of a Religion so severe as ours is, if Jesus Christ himself did not work Miracles, and if the holy Spirit, by the inward and invisible Operation of Grace, did not supply the Defect of his Ministers?

This is that, most reverend Father, which we experience every day, with astonishing Comfort, which doth

doth establish, strengthen and settle us unmovable in the same Faith which God produceth in Idolaters. I would to God I were able to relate to you particularly all that passes in *China* on this Subject, where in spight of all the Stratagems of Devils, God is so constantly and resolutely Glorified. Yet not being able upon my departure, to pick up the particular Memorial of each Church, I shall only content my self to tell you in Part what I my self have observed in my Mission, and after what manner I have made it my Business to adorn it, according to the Ideas and Practice of the most grave and ancient primitive Missionaries.

All my Business was reduced to Three principal Points; the First was to cherish, and keep up the Piety of old Believers by the preaching of the Word of God, and above all, by particular Exhortations, which is abundantly more profitable and edifying than any thing that is spoken in Publick, where the Discourse is often not understood, either because of the People's Stupidity, or else by reason of the Preacher's ill Utterance, and Pronunciation. These poor Souls whom Simplicity and Fervency make teachable, do oftentimes hear that, with Tears in their Eyes, which they do not comprehend but by halves; but yet they always improve and edify, by what they understand perfectly. They are especially most taken with Comparisons, Parables, and Histories, and albeit they are not acquainted nor accustomed to that vehement, and sometimes passionate Action of our Preachers, yet for all that, they are moved and wrought upon, when they speak to them with Earnestness, and Concern.

I no sooner came to a private House to confess sick Persons, or about other Business, but presently you should have all the Family, nay, and the Christians too of the Neighbourhood flock together about me, and intreat me to speak to them concerning God. I had made but an indifferent Progress in understand-

ing and pronouncing their Tongue, especially when I first began to preach, which nevertheless gave them no manner of Offence, so far from it, that if they could but never so little apprehend what I meant, they never were cloy'd with hearing me.

I have moreover taken notice that they had always rather I should preach my self, how barbarous soever my Language might appear, than that I should get them instructed; as I sometimes did by the help of a *Chinese* Catechist, that had been formed some time before to Exercises of this Nature: But my Visits not being so frequent as I could have wished, I endeavoured to make them up by godly Books, with which by God's Blessing, *China* is very well stored, there having been some Missionaries sufficiently zealous, and able to compose Books, and that very politely, upon all the Points of Religion.

They have very curious and complete Catechisms, wherein the intire and complete Body of the Doctrine of Christianity, the Life, Miracles, and Death of our blessed Lord, the Commandments of God and the Church, are clearly explained. There are likewise to be found particular Expositions upon the Gospels, Treatises upon Moral and Christian Duties, some solid Controversies adapted to every Body's Capacity, Practices of Piety for the different Conditions of Life, Prayers and Instructions for the Use of the Sacraments, a Body of Divinity for the Learned, for they have translated some part of *Tho. Aquinas*, and last of all, St. *Ignatius*'s Exercises for those that mind heavenly things. Insomuch, that this spiritual Seed of the evangelical Word is scattered all over, and multiplied an Hundred-fold.

I could have wished there might have been a Translation of the *Missal*, upon the account of saying Mass in *Chinese*, together with an exact Version of the holy Scriptures. Conformable to the Permission obtained for

for that purpose the *Missal* was finished, and Father *Couplet* presented it some Years ago to the Pope: However after having duly examined the Matter, it was not thought convenient to make use of it, but they continued to say Mass in the Latine Tongue, as in other Places. As for the complete Version of the Bible, there are such weighty Reasons why it should not forthwith be published, that it would seem a rash piece of Impudence to do it; and so much the more, because there is already expounded in divers Books, what is contained in the Gospel; yea, and even whatsoever is most Instructive in the rest of the holy Scriptures.

The Second Method to increase the fervent Zeal of Christians, was Prayer: Besides the time appointed for Mass, I assembled them Twice a day to make publick Prayers. They sung in Two Choirs with such marvellous Devotion, that it made me wish that the European Christians might have been witnesses of their Piety; for their rude, and sometimes scandalous Deportment before our altars, will certainly be condemned at the great Tribunal, by the Modesty of those later Christians.

They do not understand either singing by Notes or Musick as we do, yet have they Tunes of their own composure no ways unpleasant, which seems to me abundance more tolerable, than what are used in several Societies of *Europe:* They had likewise several sorts of Instruments; Consorts they seem to admire, and our Villages in *France* would serve their turn well enough in that point.

The *Chinese* are of that Temper, that they had need of something sensible to heighten their Devotion; sumptuous and magnificent Ornaments, Singing, pompous Processions, the Noise of Bells, and Instruments, and the Ceremonies of the Church are very taking with them, and allure them to divine Service.

I took extraordinary care in that matter to procure for them all that the Church out of her moſt wiſe Conduct, hath permitted to the ſervants of God; yet always diſtinguiſhing that which Superſtition, if one have not a care of it, is wont, in proceſs of time, to put into the common Peoples head.

I applyed my ſelf more eſpecially to inſpire them with reſpect to our Myſteries, they made their Confeſſion uſually every Fortnight. Their Confeſſion was not only attended with Tears, (for the *Chineſe* are more ſubject to Weeping than we) but alſo with ſevere Penance in the Evening in the Veſtry.

The lively Faith they had for the adorable Sacrament, made them conſtant attenders-on the Altar; and when I permitted them to receive it, they communicated with affections of veneration capable of inflaming not only ſuch who are but Lukewarm, but almoſt Chriſtians. You might ſee them proſtrate at ſeveral times with their Face on the ground lamenting, and commonly ſhedding abundance of tears. Such like poſtures, more frequent and ordinary amonſt *Aſiatiques* than *Europeans*, yet evermore edifying and ſubmiſſive, do exceedingly contribute to excite Devotion in the Soul, and to impreſs upon the Mind that profound Veneration which the Majeſty of our Myſteries deſerve at our hands.

This reſpect extended it ſelf alſo to the Images, Reliques, to the Medals, Holy Water, and in general to whatſoever bears the Character of our Religion.

They bore more than that, a particular veneration for the Virgin *Mary*, which perhaps had gone too far, if care had not been uſed to regulate it. They call her the Holy Mother (*Chin-Mou*) and do invoke her in all their Straits and Exigencies. The experience they have had of her Protection, hath confirmed them in this warm Devotion, and the benefits they receive daily from her, perſuade them ſhe is acceptable to God. The

The Women are yet more animated with these Sentiments than the Men. All their Churches are dedicated to her under the Title of *Chin-mou tam*, that is to say, the Temple of the blessed Mother. There they meet together, for they never enter into the Church of the Men, as the Men dare not presume to set foot into theirs. But the passionate love that the Christians have for Jesus Christ, make them really Devout, and walk worthy of the Profession they have embraced. They continually repeat these following words, *Jesus the Master of Heaven, who shed his blood for us: Jesus who died to save us.* Being it is the Mystery wherein we most carefully instruct them, so it is *that* they most stedfastly believe. Every one shall have their Crucifixes in their Chambers; and notwithstanding the nakedness of our Images did at first give some offence, yet have they in process of time accustomed themselves to them. We distribute them to the People with some precaution, for fear they may chance to fall into the hands of Idolaters, who might either through ignorance or malice, be apt to profane them.

And this was the reason why after Mass was said, I commonly removed from the Altar a large graven Crucifix, the *Pagans* do oftentimes come out of curiosity to see our Churches; now they might have stole it away, or spoken of it irreverently and blasphemously; which nevertheless was not brought to pass by the Paints of Christ's Passion which I left with them.

Now as for Christians, we are far from concealing from them this sacred Mystery of our Redemption, or from dissembling in the least circumstance of the same. What certain Hereticks have writ concerning it is a foul Calumny, which all the *Chinese* Books and Cuts therein engraven, have long ago diproved and confuted.

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The Cross is carried publickly in the Streets in Proceſſion, planted on the tops of Churches, painted over the Doors of the Chriſtians Houſes. I have no where obſerved the Ceremony of the Adoring of the Croſs, performed every *Good Friday* publickly, practiſed with more Adoration than in *China*; nay, I ſincerely proteſt, that I never aſſiſted thereat without being forced to mingle my Tears with *thoſe* of the Believers, who outdo themſelves in Devotion and publick Penance on that day eſpecially. Thoſe who have accuſed their Faith in this point, would themſelves be aſhamed at the inſenſibleneſs of *Europeans*, had they aſſiſted at our Ceremonies. For our part, we are overjoyed to ſee the *Opprobrium* of the Croſs to Triumph, as far as the utmoſt limits of the Univerſe, over the moſt proud and haughty Nation in the World.

The particular Inſtruction of the *Chineſe* Women is much more troubleſome than that of Men; they are never Viſited but in the time of their Sickneſs, neither do they ever come to viſit the Miſſionaries; but they may be ſpoken with in their Churches, or elſe one may cauſe them to meet every Fortnight to ſay Maſs, and adminiſter the Sacrament to them; they dare not come oftner for fear of Scandal, the Laws of the Country doth not ſo much as allow them that, becauſe the diſorders that happens every time the Pagan Women viſit the Temples of the *Bonzes*, cauſeth our Aſſemblies to be ſuſpected, and affords a ſpecious pretence to the Gentiles to cry down Religion.

Notwithſtanding a man cannot imagine what Fruit may be reap'd by it. I came to this Church upon *Friday* Evening to hear Confeſſions. 'Tis always in a place expoſed to every ones view; for in this caſe one cannot act with too much caution. On *Saturday* morning I finiſhed the Confeſſions of thoſe

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that were not able to get a place theday foregoing. Almoſt every one of them Confeſs, and would be glad ſo to do every day if they had liberty granted. Whether it be tenderneſs of Conſcience, or eſteem for the Sacrament, or ſome other reaſon beſt known to themſelves, I know not, but they think they can never ſet time enough apart to diſcover their Faults. There is required abundance of patience to hear them; and being naturally of a mild diſpoſition, they would take it very ill to be handled roughly; yet have they one good quality, that they are ſeldom Teſty and Froward. They receive the Inſtructions from their Director in all humility; they blindly pin their Faith upon his Sleeve: we never inflict great Penance on them, nay tho' it be a difficult matter to reduce them from their ordinary peccadilloes, yet do not they find it ſo hard to bewail and lament for them.

As for notorious Sins they very rarely commit them, becauſe their Condition exempts them from the moſt dangerous opportunities; and if they could be brought to keep Peace in their domeſtic Affairs, their Life would be otherwiſe wonderful innocent. I have obſerved in many of them a certain Devotion that wanted but little of Holineſs. They always apply themſelves to Buſineſs or to Prayer, ſeeking all opportunities for the Education of their Children, or for their own improvement: Very ſcrupulous and nice in the obſervation of the Practice of every Chriſtian Duty; Charitable, frequent in Mortification; in a particular manner zealous for the Converſion of Idolaters; attentive to all Occaſions that preſent themſelves to do Acts of Charity: Inſomuch that I have heard the ancienteſt Miſſionaries ſay, That if *China* once turn'd Chriſtian, almoſt all the Women would be ſaved. This is not an affected *Encomium* of the *Chineſe* Women; I do faithfully and honeſtly relate what I have

have seen, and I judge of other Churches by *this* whereof I have the Care and Conduct.

The Instruction of the Youth of riper years gave me as much trouble. I was perswaded that this Age above all other, requir'd cultivating, especially in *China*, where many things concur to make them have an aversion for the service of God: their easie soft Temper, the Complaisance of all about them; their Relations that dote upon them, and seldom carry a strict hand over them, but let them have their Wills. The company of Heathen Children always corrupted and vicious very soon; their dependance, their complaisance with School-masters, who many times have such influence on them as to inspire them with an aversion for Religion. All these are Obstacles to their Instruction, very hard to surmount, what care soever we take.

Yet was I willing to discharge my Duty by several ways and means. That which appeared to me the most effectual, was to take a Christian School-master into my House, who was an able zealous Man. The Children came thither to learn, and I took the opportunity to instil Devotion into them; to expound to them the principal Articles of Religion, to train them up and discipline them against the Assaults of the Gentiles, to accustom them to the Ceremonies of the Church where they assisted at Mass every day. This Practice did also produce another good effect. The Children of Idolaters who came to Study under the Tuition of the same Master, whether by reason of cheapness, or because of the nearness of the place, heard, whether they would or no, what was taught to their School-fellows: These Instructions form'd and season'd them by little and little to Christianity, and replenished their Mind with abundance of good Notions and Ideas, which, as so many Seeds, in process of time did produce

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Evangelical Fruit, that is to say real Conversions.

It were to be wish'd there were a good number of Christian School-masters that might teach *gratis* in Cities, that would be the best means to propagate Religion, and to preserve good Manners, and keep up *decorum* in Families; but the Missionaries are so far from being in a condition to maintain them, that they are hard put to it to subsist themselves; for they do not lead such a Life as some ill informed, or rather ill-affected Authors would have made the World believe they did. Nay, and I speak even of those who are at Court, who seem by their outside to live in the affluence of all Accomodations. It is true indeed they go in their Silks, (according to the mode of the Country) when they go to visit Persons of Quality, yea and they are sometimes carried in a Sedan, or else on Horseback, attended by Servants. All which is necessary to keep up their Credit, and preserve the protection of the *Mandarins*, for want of which the Christians would be often oppress. But yet that makes the Missionaries to lead an hard Life; for these expences consuming their whole Revenue, or Pension, which never amounts to an hundred Crowns *per Annum*, the small portion that remains is scarce sufficient to live on. The Missionary is very decently (not to say very poorly habited) in his House; his Lodging is very inconvenient, he lies upon the hard Ground, or upon a very thin Quilt without Sheets. As for his Table, it is so frugal, that there is never a Monk in *Europe* to whom the Canon prescribes such a vigorous Abstinence; some of them pass whole Years together with only Rice, leguminous Vegitables, and Water; for the *Thee* that is usually drank, is neither pleasant to the Palat of a *Chinese* nor a Foreigner.

However, I speak only of the time that they are in their House; for as soon as ever they come abroad

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to travel about the Provinces, and to seek the lost Sheep in the Villages, Mountains, and the most remote places, one is not able to express the continual fatigues of their Mission; (I speak chiefly of those that perform in the Western Provinces; for the Channels that water almost all the Provinces of the South, make these Perambulations less tedious.) Then it is that they labour Night and Day, lie in Barns, eat with the poor Country Men, and are exposed to the scorching Sun, and the most vehement Cold, oftentimes covered all over with Snow, and wet to the Skin with Rain. And then we meet with nothing to comfort us at our arrival but fervent Christians, that quite weary us out by the exercise of our Ministry that they expect from us.

The Province of *Chensi*, that fell to my care, is one of the vastest in all *China*. I had some Christians and Churches established an hundred Leagues of one another, whether I must go by Roads so toilsom, that even Horses are of no use. They have Mules bred in the Mountains, and managed for these sort of Journeys, that is to say, for the easiest Ways; as for the other Ways you are fain to foot it, whether you creep on all four up the Rocks, or descend into the Precipices. You cross over the Valley in Water and Dirt, exposed to Tygres, but yet more to Robbers, whose retreat the Country does favour.

They are not like those fine Ways and delightful pleasant Champain Provinces of the South, which Art and Nature have seem'd rather to have made for the delight of the Inhabitants, than for the convenience of Travellers. The Valleys of the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* are much more passable; and one may properly say of *China*, that where it is fine nothing in the World is finer; and when it ceases to be so, nothing is more horrid and frightful. Nevertheless since the death of Father *Faber*, one takes delight to travel

travel along these tedious Roads that he watered formerly with the sweat of his Brows, where he hath shed abroad that sweet savour of Holiness, that still upholds the Faith of Christians, and animates the Zeal of the Missionaries.

The other Churches of this Province are more easily come at. I spent a great part of the Year in travelling from Village to Village, Catechizing, Preaching, administring the Sacraments to Believers that assembled upon my passage in all the places that I appointed. I divided my Time between them and the Idolaters, whose Conversion always proves more frequent in these solitary remote places than in great Cities, or in the Metropolis of a Province. Some of them there were, who being already convinced of the Truth by reading, or by their commerce with Christians, came of their own accord to receive Baptism: Others shaken, and rouzed either by their Relations or Friends, came to hear Disputations, and at last surrendred themselves to the Grace of JESUS CHRIST: Many allured by novelty, or by the intreaty of their Neighbours, heard attentively, and always disputed with a great deal of heat; amongst whom some there were that withdrew from the Disputation more hardened than ever; yet others more faithful to the drawings of the Spirit, gave Glory to God, and humbly acknowledged their Errors. All my trouble in these sorts of Controversies, was, that I could not deliver my self as I would. The difficulty of explaining my self in a foreign Language deprived the Truth of its Weight and Power. I thought if I could but have spoken my native Tongue, there should not have been one Idolater in my Auditory, that should not have opened his eyes to Truth first, and then to Faith. But besides that, Men commonly speak enough of it to make every Man inexcusable, as St. *Paul* saith; yet I made moreover this

this Reflection, That he that Plants, and he that Waters, what pains soever he may take, and how expert soever he may be in Planting and Watering well, yet does but very little by that. A Man ought to refer this great Work of converting Souls to God; 'tis he alone that causes these Plants to encrease, that nourishes them, that raises them up to himself, according to the order of his infinite Mercy and eternal Purposes. And at these set Times fixed and ordained in the eternal Counsels of Divine Predestination, how many times have I seen a few ill words pronounced sensibly to triumph over Error, because the Holy Spirit, that Master within the Elect, doth unfold the sense of them; whereas prolix Discourses have had none other effect, but only to harden the heart; when, by a just Judgment, God was not pleased to accompany them with an extraordinary evidence and demonstration of the Spirit.

You will, without doubt, most Reverend Father, be exceeding glad to understand the nature of the main difficulties we meet withal in the Conversion of the Gentiles. I have observed three sorts of them, that seem peculiar to the *Chinese*. Persons of Quality, and those who would be thought wise, objected chiefly against the Mysteries: Their hearts rose chiefly against the Trinity and Incarnation; a God that was penetrable, a God that could die, was no less in respect of them, than of the Jews a stumbling-block and a piece of folly. The Existence of God, Eternal, Supreme, infinitely Just, infinitely Powerful, went easily down with them, and the convincing proofs of it that I urged to them, made them sometimes forbear entering into the Lists with me thereupon.

To proceed in order, and to follow the roads which Prudence and Holy Fathers have chalked out for us on these occasions, I divided our Religion into two parts. In the first I proposed to them whatsoever

soever Reason exempt from Passion dictates to us. That there is a God; that this God being infinitely Holy, enjoyns us to love Vertue, and shun Vice, to obey Princes, to respect our Relations, to do no wrong to ones Neighbour; that good Men that are oftentimes miserable in this World, enjoy a certain reward in the next: That on the contrary wicked Men, who spend their life in inordinate Pleasures, are rigorously punished after death: That this same Hope and Fear, that are the beginning of Wisdom, are likewise the first rule of our Demeanour; but yet that the enflamed Love that every Man ought to have for this supreme Arbitrator of Life and Death, is capable alone to render us perfect.

After I had convinced them by these Maxims, I bid them practise with this Spirit of Love and Fear, these Divine Lessons; prostrate your selves every day before the infinite Majesty of this God that you acknowledge; in this posture, with tears in your Eyes, and an Heart broken, and contrite with grief for knowing him so late, beg of him from the bottom of your heart, that he would please to raise you to these sublime Truths, which Reason doth not discover to you, but which it hath pleased him to reveal to the World by his beloved Son, which at present make up the particular Character of the Christian Faith.

It was not always such an easie matter to obtain what I demanded; the most part of the Gentiles accustomed blindly to pursue their Passions, found more difficulty to embrace this Novel-kind of Life, than to believe the most abstruse Mysteries. Yet I can assure you, Reverend Father, that of all those that submitted thereto in earnest, I see not any that was not a few days after disposed to believe the most difficult things which the New Testament teacheth us: So true it is, that Faith is the gift of God, that

cannot be acquired by all the force of Reasoning; and those only obtain, who follow our Saviour's Counsel: *Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened to you.* God indeed, to accomplish this promise, did concur pretty often to the Conversion in a most miraculous manner, and I observed in several new Converts so many enlightnings, just upon their resolving to live well, and be constant in Prayer, that the Holy Spirit must needs have illuminated them.

A Gentleman whom reading and disputing had made to waver in his Opinion, could not yet resolve to believe; yet he determined notwithstanding to practice the Morality of JESUS CHRIST, supposing that a good Life would much conduce to dispel these Mists. At the first his Doubts got ground of him instead of being vanquished: The more he looked upon the Cross, the more did his Spirit revolt. He compared the Fables of his own Religion with the ignominious death of a God-man, that lays the Foundation of ours. They both seem'd to him equally ridiculous; and take what care he could to search, nothing could he find that confirm'd him more in Christianity, than in Idolatry. His Relations and divers of his Friends and Acquaintance, used their utmost endeavour to win him over to JESUS CHRIST, but all to no purpose, and he was just upon the point of taking up his old course again, when our blessed Lord stopt him upon the very brink of the Precipice

One Night (as I had it from his own mouth) he saw in his Dream Heaven open; JESUS CHRIST appear'd to him full of Majesty, sitting at the right hand of the Father, and surrounded with an infinite company of blessed Spirits: on one hand he shewed him those eternal Rewards that are promised to Christians; on the other he discovered to him profound Abysses,

Abysses, which the Torments and Shreiks of a great many Idolaters made gastly and frightful. *That is thy portion,* saith he, with a threatning countenance, *if thou dost not follow me.* Oh! Son, continued he with a more mild countenance, *Must my Cross discourage you? And must a death which is the source of my glory, make you ashamed?*

This Vision frighted him, and he awakened quite another Man; he did not look upon it as a Dream, he did not busie himself to find out what extraordinary thing, chance, and an over-heated imagination were capable oftentimes to produce during sleep: the poor Man being perswaded that God had spoken to him, demanded to be baptised with a great deal of importunity: nay, and he was so far from having any trouble to submit to the belief of our Mysteries, that he protested he would willingly part with his life to defend the Truth of them.

Another less knowing, yet much more obstinate, did not only not forsake his Errors, but did even scoff at, and deride our most holy Mysteries, and was present at my instructions, only to jeer them: yet had he permitted his Wife to turn Christian, because he was not willing, by crossing her desire, to breed a disturbance in his Family. But said he would have a great care of following her example; for fear the World should be apt to believe that all his Family was run mad.

Being naturally of a more spritely temper, and brisker than your *Chinese* usually are, I endeavoured to win by fair means, more than by Disputation; at length, perceiving neither of them prove effectual, I went one evening to his House to see him, and taking him aside; I depart to morrow, Sir, said I, and am come to take my leave of you. I must needs confess it is not without some sorrow, not only because I leave you, but more especially because I leave

you in your Errors. At least, before my departure, do me one small kindness, your Wife is a Christian, she hath an Image of the God-man, whose Religion I Preach, do so much as Prostrate your self sometimes before this same Image, and beseech him whom it represents to illuminate your mind, if it be true that he hath power so to do, and if he be capable of hearing you. He promised me he would do it, and presently after my back was turned he performed his promise.

His Wife, ignorant of what had past, seeing him upon his Knees adoring JESUS CHRIST by often bowing his Head before this Image, supposed he was Converted, and sent one of her Relations into an House adjoyning where I was, to acquaint me with it: I ran thither, and found him still so taken up in this Action, and in Prayer, that I had not a mind to interrupt him.

As soon as he rose from his Knees, I told him I could not sufficiently signifie my joy to him, occasioned by the wonderful change God had lately wrought in him.

How! saith he, all amazed, did you see at such a distance what past in my mind, or hath God revealed it to you? JESUS CHRIST himself, reply'd I, lets me understand so much, for he acquaints us that those who ask any thing of his Father in his name shall be heard! Oh! Father, cryed he, it is true, I am no longer the same Man, I perceive myself a Christian without yet knowing what Christianity means; but pray instruct me, I am ready to submit, and to receive Baptism this very moment if you please.

I told him I baptized no body before I had first instructed them, that being obliged to depart, I would nominate a Christian to whom he might have recourse in my absence. He consented to every thing, and

and we prostrated our selves before this miraculous Image, to return thanks to the Divine Majesty, who can, when he sees good, from the hardest Stones raise up Children unto *Abraham*.

Amongst several other effects of that Grace, wherewith it hath pleased God to bless my Mission, the Conversion of an old Officer in the Army seems worth the relating to you. From a private Sentinel, he was got up to be the King's Lieutenant in one of the Cities of the third Order, notwithstanding he was very rich, yet had he never a Concubine; his Wife being a Christian, obliged him to live in a more regular manner than other Mandarins. But nothing could determine him to turn Christian; not that he was bigotted to Paganism, his desire of advancing himself in the World took up all his thoughts, and had till that time never owned any Deity but his Fortune. This indifferency for all sorts of Religion, is of all conditions the most dangerous; and I have found by Experience that a Man is never at a greater distance from the true God than when he acknowledges none at all.

Yet had he a great value for Christians, because he edified by their innocent life. When I chanced to go to his City he always made me a Visit; and because he thought it pleased me, he went sometimes into the Church to lie Prostrate before the Altars. I thereupon took occasion to lay the business of his Salvation home to him, but he heard the most serious things, that I spoke to him thereupon, with a smile.

One day speaking to him of Hell in a more terrifying manner than usual; you must not be surprized at my undauntedness, says he, it would be a great shame for an old Officer, as I am, to be afraid. Ever since I turned Soldier I took up the resolution to fear nothing: but after all, saith he, what reason can I have to fear, I do no body wrong; I serve my

Friends, and am faithful to the Emperor, and if heretofore I have been subject to the usual disorders of Youth, I am at present temperate enough in my Pleasures. That is as much as to say, replyed I, that you strive to gratifie the World, but you are no wise solicitous to render to God what you owe to him; could you imagine you should be a good Officer, in discharging the particular duty of your Calling, if you refused at the same time to obey and acknowledge the Emperor.

'Tis not enough to be regular in all the Actions of a private life; the principal duty of a Subject is to submit to his Sovereign, and the whole duty of a Man is to own and fear God. You are in the right, saith he, I do seriously think it. You think so in vain, replyed I, if that God, which I speak to you of, does not give good thoughts. Beg of him this Evening to enlighten your Understanding, he will hear your Voice; but do you remember also to listen to *his*, and follow it.

Altho' I could hope no more from this Discourse, then from several other preceeding ones, yet I observed he was wrought upon: I mention'd some such thing to his Wife, who took an occasion thereupon to speak home to him, and one of his Officers being very Zealous, and well instructed, desired him at least to assist at Evening-Prayer to be performed in his House. His presence stirred up the fervency of his Domesticks, and they all beg'd of JESUS CHRIST that he might be Converted, with Cries and Tears, which the infinite goodness of the Almighty can scarce ever withstand.

From this very moment he began to waver, and the various thoughts he revolved in his mind a great part of the night concerning the danger wherein he was, made him take up a resolution to go through with Religion. But our Lord instructed him concerning

cerning it immediately; for he seriously protested, that being a little sleepy, he had such horrible representations of Hell, that he was no longer in suspense whether or no he should resolve: upon his awakening he found himself a Christian, or at least he took up a firm resolution so to be as soon as possible he could. He forthwith repaired to the Church where I said Mass; when it was finished, I was surprised to him see at my Feet begging Baptism of me, with his Eyes bathed in Tears. Weeping, I say, for scarce could he utter his mind, so much did his Sighs and Tears interrupt his Discourse: he spoke likewise with a much more confident Air, and there was observed in his Action I know not what sort of fear, that had seised him, of which he was not Master. Whether it was that his imagination was still smitten with the representation of Hell, or whether God by this change was pleased to make us, as well as him, apprehensive that all the bravery and haughtiness that War is capable of inspiring, is not proof against that saving horror which he darts (when it pleases him) into the most undaunted Hearts.

I had a great mind, according to my custom, to take some time to examine and instruct him, but he protested that he would not go out of the Church till he was baptised. *Perhaps I shall dye this very night,* said he to me, *and you will be grieved to know me eternally damn'd.* His resolution not to forsake me, the intreaty of Christians, that went down to the ground to me to obtain this favour, and I know not what internal motion prevailed upon me. I examined him about every point of Religion: he understood one part of it, and learnt the rest with so much easiness, that two hours after I thought I could initiate him into our Mysteries. His Conversion made a great noise in the City, several Idolaters followed his example; and since in Heaven itself there is rejoycing at the repen-

tance of one sinner; there is no question but the Saints and Angels were joyful of the Conversion of this very Man.

This submission of our spirit to the obscurest Mysteries, how difficult soever it may seem, yet is it not the thing that troubles the Gentiles most; several other considerations are greater rubs in their way. The first is the restitution of ill gotten Goods, which in reference to the Merchants and Mandarins is an almost unsurmountable obstacle.

Injustice and Cozenage are so common in *China*, in these two conditions, that few of them there are who have enriched themselves any other way. A Merchant always puts off his Wares at the dearest rate he can possibly, and never utters his good Merchandise but when he cannot get rid of his bad. Cunning and Craft, so peculiar to this Nation, seem to intitle it to the right of Sophisticating all things. But the sanctity of our Religion doth not permit what human Laws tolerate: a Man when he is become Rich by unjust dealing, must come and make up his Accounts with God, when he does in earnest think he is come to the knowledge of him. I must confess that I never insisted upon this point but it made me tremble. This is for the most part a Rock of offence to a *Chinese*.

They do not boggle at the Mysteries, nor ever call them in question, and the reason is because they seem not cut out for speculative Sciences. But as to the business of Morality they have a certain penetrating aptness, and think themselves little inferiour to us.

'It is very true, says a Merchant to me one day, a 'Man is not allowed to defraud or do wrong to his 'Neighbour; but it is not I that Cheat when I sell too 'dear, or when I put off my bad Stuffs, the Buyer a-'buses himself. As he for his part desires to have 'them for nothing, or as little as he can, if I agree to 'it.

'it. So I likewise am in the right to exact large rates 'from him, and to receive them, if he be so simple 'as to give them me; this is the fruit of our Industry, 'and this profit is no violence, but the effect of my 'Calling, that teaches me to improve my Trade.

'Moreover, adds he, altho' it should be true that I 'should possess another Man's Goods, and that I 'should have committed a fault by enriching my self 'at his cost; how can I have the Conscience at pre-'sent to strip my Children naked, and reduce them to 'beggery? Believe me, Father, those from whom I 'have extorted what they had, have I'll warrant you 'done as much to others, who again have enriched 'themselves after the same manner. Here it is the 'Custom to deal thus, and every one in particular, '(if they have any reason) ought mutually to par-'don one another for these small faults; otherwise 'we must undo and overthrow whole Families, and 'introduce a disorder worse than the mischief that one 'hath committed. As for my part I freely pardon 'those who have chouſed me, provided no body will 'molest me about the pretended wrong I have done 'him.

This is the Language of the Children of darkness, of whom JESUS CHRIST saith, that it is easier for a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Let a Man represent to them what he pleases; yet will they always have their own way, being more obdurate than blind; for they seldom fail of admiring Justice, and an unbyassed humour in others. See here an example of what I say, whereof I have been witness my self.

A young Man travelling in the Province of *Chensi*, where I chanced to be, found a Purse upon the Road of about ten or twelve Crowns; he had the honesty to inquire after the person to whom it belonged, that he

he might restore it. This was look'd upon as an heroical Action by the *Chinese*; now the Mandarin of the place would not let him do it without a recompence, he made an *Encomium* of it himself in a Discourse that was printed in a large Character, and affix'd upon the Palace-Gate.

But God Almighty, to whom even natural Vertues are acceptable, was infinitely more gracious to this young Man. For proceeding on his Journey, a person unknown to him accosted him, and said how came it to pass that you restored the mony so generously? Do not you know that it is none but the Christians duty to do such things as these, and know, that in the state wherein you are, all your moral Actions will not hinder you from being damned: believe me you will do well to go to the Father of the Christians, and embrace their Religion, without which all your uprightness and natural equity will stand you in no stead after death.

He immediately obeyed, and returned back to find me out, he related to me with abundance of modest simplicity what had happened to him, and ever and anon he would be saying; what is it to be a Christian, and what would you have me do? I instructed him with so much the more easiness, because he took nothing amiss: in a word, he was indued with so much innocence and candor, that I was much taken with him; so that when I found him well disposed, I proceeded to the baptising of him, and put him in a way to sanctifie his good inclinations for the future.

The Devil, who understands the blind side of the *Chinese*, as to matter of Interest, hath inspired the Idolaters with a Maxim that always retains them in their Errors. The People fancy that one is Christian enough if one be poor, and that Christianity was the Religion of beggerly Fellows. So that if there happen any misfortune in a Family; if there chance to

be

be a Christian in it, all others presently lay the blame upon him, and load him with their imprecations. One cannot without a strong Faith resist this Persecution, and when one proposes to an Idolater, prepossessed with this false idea, to embrace the Christian Religion; inward Grace must be exceeding strong to oblige him to Sacrifice his Fortune, and to forsake, as he imagines, all his temporal Interests.

This very reason sways almost with all the Mandarins, who venture all as soon as they think of becoming Christians. Father *Adam*'s fall, that drew along with it so many illustrious Families in the late Persecution, makes their Hair still stand an end. They know that the Religion of the *Europeans* is not approved of by the Laws, and withal that they may deprive all such as embrace it of their Lives and Fortunes. What Protection soever the Emperor may grant to the Missionaries, he may hereafter revoke it, he may die. And the Parliament watch all oportunities imaginable to root out Christianity; so that the fear of losing the deceitful riches of this World, deprive a multitude of People of eternal Blessings, which they cannot sufficiently value, nor know the worth of.

But now if a Mandarin, who has any work of Grace upon his Heart, wave all these considerations, yet upon his Conversion, he meets with another notable obstacle to his perseverance, still more difficult to surmount than the former. Since the Pensions of the Officers are not capable to supply the usual Expences of their Family, they have no other fund for to maintain it besides injustice.

The Ministers of State, and chief Presidents of Sovereign Courts of Judicature of *Pekin*, do underhand exact considerable sums from the Vice-Roys. And these latter, to make it good, have recourse to the principal Mandarins of the Province; who again lay

lay a Tax upon the Subaltern Officers. None dare presume to dispense with it, without running into the danger of being quite undone, insomuch that every one of them, that he may maintain his Post, gapes after getting mony by hook or by crook.

This Ministry of injustice, which the ambition of the Grandees, and Avarice of some of inferior Rank, have introduced into the Empire since the last Revolution, gives a mortal blow to the establishment of our most holy Faith upon a solid Foundation, because a Christian Mandarin, ceases to be a good Christian, if he fleeces and robs, or else he ceases to be a Mandarin if he do not cheat.

However, we meet with a great many of them, whom Providence preserves, who have not bowed the Knee to *Baal*. We have seen in *China*, as in the Primitive Church, some examples of this Christian generosity, that count the Goods of this World as nothing, in hopes that the Kingdom of Heaven will one day be their Inheritance. During the time of the Persecution there past an hundred things of this nature, that might afford matter of Edification; but being I set down nothing but what I have seen, I shall content my self to relate a more recent example which likewise much affected me.

A fervent Christian of the Province of *Chensi*, after he had inriched himself in divers honourable employs, did at last retire from the World, resolving to lay out one part of his Estate in the service of God, and to dispose of the other in leading a peaceable and innocent life with his Family. He had built a Church in the Country, whither I sometimes went to Administer the Sacraments, and Baptise the Chatechists, whom he took special care to train up himself. But his House standing in a place that was a great thorow-fair, the Troops that are continually going, and coming in *China*, laid all his Grounds waste,

waſte, not daring to do the leaſt Damage to *thoſe* of his neighbour Idolaters; and this is the Reaſon that induced them to deal with him at this rate.

The *Chineſe* are wont publickly to belch out Curſes againſt thoſe that do them wrong, eſpecially, if they cannot be revenged of them other ways. If a man hath been rob'd in his Houſe, and one cannot diſcover the Robber, every Morning and Evening for ſeveral days together, the Family's Buſineſs is to curſe him; the Father, Mother, Children, and the Servants, take it by turns, and relieve one another in this Exerciſe, and wiſh him all miſchief imaginable; they have, (if I may ſo expreſs it) *Formula's* of foul Language, and dire Expreſſions, which they repeat an Hundred Times, bawling as loud as poſſibly they are able, at the Gate, or upon the Houſe-top; and they imagine that the Robber will come to ſome harm by them, wherever he be, 'till ſuch time as he hath made amends for the Wrong.

Notwithſtanding, there is not one of an Hundred of theſe Robbers, that give any heed to this tedious Noiſe, yet, ſome there be that are frighted at it; and this Fear prevents abundance of Violences. Chriſtians who love their Enemies, and wiſh well to thoſe that do ill by them, are far from curſing them; ſo that the Soldiers that I told you of, fearing the Curſes of the *Gentiles*, ſpared their Goods, and fearing nothing from the Wrath of this zealous Chriſtian, they plundred his Houſe, ſtole his Fruit, cut down his Corn, and pluck't up his Trees: So you ſee his extraordinary Patience, drew upon him all the Damage which otherwiſe would have equally fal'n upon others.

His Friends more concern'd at his Loſſes than himſelf, often laugh'd at his inſenſibleneſs, and reproach'd him much what in the ſame manner as *Job*'s Friends did him on ſuch a like Occaſion, telling him, that all his Bleſſing of God, would not ſecure him from loſing

sing his Estate, and probably not from starving: *Benedic Deo, & morere*, bless God and die.

They were always telling him, that it was a strange Thing, that for the bare Observance of his Religion, he would see himself reduc'd to the utmost Extremity. If so be, say they, you are afraid your self to utter Curses against those Rogues, send one of your Servants to do it for you, or else let out your Estate to *Gentiles*, who will not be troubled with these ridiculous Scruples.

This good Man abounding in a lively Faith, and that godly Simplicity so conformable to the Gospel, made Answer, that all he had, was at God's disposal, that he would preserve it, and that upon the whole, he had rather receive Hurt, than to do any. He told me one day; my Children take it very ill, that I leave my House, and Goods, at Sixes and Sevens, to be plundred at this rate: You know, I have my particular Reasons to do thus, but they have none at all to complain, since the Goods do not belong to them; they have wherewithal to live, without being beholding to any Body, upon what I have reserved for my self; but altho' they should be in want, yet, I had rather, when I come to die, leave Examples of Vertue for their Portion, that contribute to the saving of their Souls, than Riches, that may make them lose them.

These Sentiments, most reverend Father, were such matter of Joy, that I am not able to express it to you. I said sometimes to my self in the Excess of my Joy, *Is there more Faith than that in* Israel? No, O Lord, I have lost nothing by leaving *France*, since I find some Saints here; *thy Spirit hath indeed filled all the Earth*, and that profound Science of Salvation, that we in *Europe* have enjoy'd for so many Ages, begins at length to be spread abroad to the Extremities of the World, by the stupendous Efficacy of thy holy Word.

Never-

Nevertheless, because his Children were very urgent with me, to find out some Way or other to remedy this Disorder, and that indeed it was convenient to prevent the *Gentiles* Malice from prevailing over the Christians Patience; I permitted them on such Occasions as these, to make use of Threatnings instead of Cursings; and to tell them, I wish you no Harm, yea, and I forgive that you have done me; but God who pleads my Cause, knows how to punish, tho' I do not pretend to do it: the Time will come, when you shall be smitten with all the *Anathema's* that your unjust Violence deserves, and that Curse he sends on you at present, will be to you the Source of all the Miseries which his Law forbids me to wish to you. This Expedient took Effect, and the Christians growing eloquent for their own Interest, did so lively represent the Judgment of God, that the Idolaters durst no longer blame them.

The Second Obstacle in my Way in converting the *Chinese*, proceeded from the multitude of Wives which the Laws of that Country permit them; that is, in respect of the Persons of Quality only, who, besides their own Wives, take as many Concubines as they are able to maintain; for as to the ordinary Sort, they have not Wealth enough to allow this Expence. The *Mandarins* are by their condition debar'd from all ordinary Divertisements, they are permitted only to eat now and then with their Friends, and give them a Play: Gaming, taking the Air, Hunting, private Visits, publick Assemblies would be lookt upon in them, as Crimes of State; so that they seek no further than their House to find wherewithal to supply the want of those Pleasures which the Laws abridge them of.

Here and there one of them applies himself to study, as the surest means to advance him; but the greatest part of the *Mandarins* compose a kind of *Seraglio*, where-

wherein they spend all the time that they can steal from their Affairs. One may judge by that, how little they are inclined to deprive themselves of Delights, to be satisfied with one Wife, whose Age, nay, and many times Antipathy, have but already too much disgusted them.

It is true, those who are converted, are permitted to take one of their Concubines to Wife, in case the lawful Spouse hath not a mind to turn Christian; but the Laws prohibit them to do so: And in *China*, one cannot divorce his Wife, except in some very few particular Cases authorised by Custom: Moreover, the Relations of her, whom her husband should have thus repudiated, would certainly be revenged on him, nay, and would force him by Law to take her again. So that when we propose to the *Mandarins* the other Difficulties of our Religion, they dispute, they consider how to conquer them; they do not despair to do Violence upon their Inclinations; but this last Point discourages them at first Dash, and deprives them of all thoughts of being converted. I will give you a notable Example of what I say.

I was going one day from one Village to another, in pretty bad Weather, and making haste to get there in time, I heard an horse-man behind, who gallop't up to me; he was a man of betwixt Fifty and Threescore, well mounted, and attended by some Servants: As soon as he had overtaken me, he told me, that the great Esteem he had for the Christian Religion, gave him some thoughts of getting himself fully instructed therein, and that nothing could ever be able to divert him from this Resolution, because he perceived in his mind, a wonderful desire to embrace it. This Ardency, saith I, Sir, without all doubt comes from God, Flesh and Blood do not inspire such like Sentiments into you; for my part, I am ready to assist you; I hope on your part, you will be perswaded to follow the

the Voice that calls you: We were afoot in the middle of a great High-way, and taking him aside a little, I began to instruct him: every thing appeared Rational to him; and after having run over all the mysteries that are most difficult, I advised him to follow me into the Church, whither it was my Duty to go, when I call'd to mind that I had forgot the material Point; I suppose Sir, added I, that you have no Concubines, or at least, you are resolved to send them packing; for without doubt, you are not ignorant, that it is not allowed Christians to marry several Wives. The Religion which I preach, and Jesus Christ taught, applies itself principally to wean our Hearts from sensual pleasures, nay, and doth even sometimes exhort us, to deprive our selves of those which Reason permits.

How, saith he, startl'd at this, am I oblig'd (if I have any thoughts of being a Christian) to turn off my Concubines; ah! what hurt is there in keeping them? what will People say of me in the World? what will become of my Children? and what will become of my self? But, is that same really an Article which cannot be dispensed with? I endeavoured to pacifie him, and make him apprehend, that he laboured under a mistake: If to overcome the Difficulties of his Conversion, he relied wholly upon his own natural Strength, and present Inclination; God, said I, who knows our corrupt Nature, hath secret Methods whereby to assist us, that we do not at First so much as dream of; endeavour only to keep alive that good Will he hath granted you, he will accomplish the rest, you will find your self changed in respect of this, as of all other things.

He listened to me a good while without speaking a Word, but at length taking his leave of me on the suddain, and making a low Bow, he mounts briskly on horse-back, puts Spurs to his Horse, and rides full Speed towards the Place from whence he came; I quickly

lost sight of him, but methought I still see him, so lively was his Countenance for some time imprinted upon my Spirit; and I am still quite disconsolate, for losing a Soul in an instant, which the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ had been so long a preparing for me.

But now in respect of Womens Conversion, it is much more difficult. A Concubine, for Example, acknowledged the Verity of Religion, and the Miserableness of her State and Condition; she had a great Desire to come out of it, and receive Baptism, it was told her, that the first Step that Faith acquired of her, was to live separately from her pretended Husband, and to forsake her sins; so far she consents, nay, she desires it with all her Heart; but observe what she represents to her self, I belong to a *Mandarin* who bought me, if I go out of his Doors, he hath right to claim me, and take me again, and inflict Punishment upon me as his Slave. If by good Fortune I avoid his Pursuit, whither can I retire to be in more Security? my Kindred who sold me dare not harbour me, and I shall infallibly fall into the hands of another Person who will engage me in the State that I seek to avoid; I must therefore remain in the House where I am, but how shall I be able to resist a brutish Fellow, who only consults his Passion, justified by the Laws, and Example of the whole Empire: it is to no purpose to lay before him the holiness of Christianity that I desire to embrace; my Intreaties, Tears, yea, my Resistance, and all the Efforts that I, poor I can make, are not able to hinder him; nevertheless, I am resolved to run away whatever it costs me: Order me to do something, but pray do not refuse me baptism.

It so falls out sometimes, that an Idolater taking distaste at some extravagant *Caprichio* of his Christian Wife, does wrongfully accuse her, and obtains leave, by the force of Money to sell her to another; yea, sometimes without any legal Process of Justice, he sells her and

and retires into another Province; this Woman gets into the hands of another Man: How can she avoid Sin, receive the Sacraments, and persevere in the Faith? in truth the Missionaries are at their Wit's end, having at that time no other Course to take, but to go to Prayer, that God, who sincerely desires the Salvation of all men, would please to make use of those secret means, that his Almighty Power is wont to produce, when his ordinary Providence, and the Efforts of our good Desires, prove ineffectual

We have, most reverend Father, so much the more Reason to hope for these distinguishing Favours from God in such like Occasions, because he often grants them, even then when we do not judge them absolutely necessary. It is true, Miracles are not so common in *China*, as the State of that Empire would seem to require: The Emperor to whom they have related *those* which God hath been pleased to work in other Nations, does sometimes reprove us for it. Are we, saith he, in a worse Condition than the *Barbarians*, that have so frequently seen their Sick healed, and their Dead raised to Life? What have we done to God that he renders our Conversion so difficult? You come from the utmost ends of the Earth, to preach up a new Law to us, contrary to Nature, elevated above Reason: Is it Just, that we should take your Word for it? Do some Miracles that may warrant the Truth of your Religion, and I'll pass my Word for the sincerity of our Faith.

We have frequently told him, that God was the Master and Giver of these Gifts, and that he distributed them, according to the Decrees of his eternal Wisdom; that it is out of our Sphere to fathom their Depth; that sometimes he did not work these Prodigies in Kings Courts, because he foresaw the ill use they were likely to make of them; sometimes because giving them better Parts and Abilities, and more Pene-

tration than to others, these ordinary Graces were sufficient for them; whereas the simple, vulgar, and the rude, uncivilized Nations, stood in need of the sensible Marks of his Almightiness, for the more easy discovering of the Truth; yea, and it is more than probable also, that carnal Prudence which is at such enmity with the Spirit of the Blessed Jesus, the Softness, Ambition, and Luxury of great Persons, draw upon them this terrible Chastisement, and that God in his just Judgment refuseth Miracles to Persons, who do themselves refuse to submit to the most plain, and ordinary Laws of Nature.

But, my Lord, (have some replied) the Charity of that great Number of Missionaries, who joyfully forsake *Europe*, where their Quality, Estates, and their Science, ought naturally to detain them; who traverse a Thousand Dangers, to come hither to sacrifice themselves to the Happiness of your People; and with so unbiassed and constant Zeal Sir. Is not there something of a Prodigy in it? and should it not be as powerful to perswade you as Miracles? If they be such Knowing, Learned Men as your Majesty allows them to be, how do they abuse themselves? and if they be Wise, as you seem to think them; why do they abandon all the Pleasures of this World, to come so far to deceive others, and all to no purpose? After all the Reflections they have made this Hundred Years upon the different Religions of *China*, there is not one of them, who hath not judg'd them all wholly contrary to Reason; but during so many Ages that we have examined the Christian Religion, we have not observed amongst us one wise Man, and of good Morals, that hath suspected it of Falshood. These Answers do usually put him to a stand, and force him to make certain Reflections that do not a little disturb him.

In short, most Reverend Father, if Miracles be wanting at *Pekin*, the Business is otherwise in the Pro-

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vinces, several are there wrought, and *those* of Father *Faber* are so generally known, that it is somewhat difficult not to believe them; not that I go about to justifie all that is related of those, nor of a great many more Prodigies, which they relate on small grounds; but, you'll give me leave not to doubt of those whereof I my self have been Witness; and peradventure, most Reverend Father, you rely so much upon my Sincerity, as to be inclined to believe them likewise upon my Testimony.

In a Village in the Province of *Chensi*, near the City of *San-uyen*, there lived an Idolater, devout in his way, and extreamly addicted to these Superstitions: At the time of Full Moon, he burnt commonly in honour of his Gods, Gilded, or Silver'd Papers, wrapt up in different Figures, according to the Custom of the Country. One day preparing to Offer this kind of Sacrifice before his Gate, there arose a Storm that forc'd him to retire into his House, where he lighted the said Papers in the middle of a Hall, without taking any farther Care; but the Wind blowing open the Gate, drove them up and down every where, and they had not time to prevent one part from flying into a Stack of Straw, which set fire on the House.

People came running, but the conflagration became so furious, in a moment that it was impossible to extinguish it. The House on one side adjoyning to the Idolater's, belonged to a Christian, and by this time seem'd (half encompassed with the Flames driven furiously by the Wind) to be in Danger of being quickly quite consumed; this poor Man, attended with divers others, got upon the House-top, and did his Endeavour, but all in Vain, to defend himself from the Conflagration; when his brother very confidently came as near the Fire as he durst possibly, and fell on his Knees upon the Tiles, and looking up to heaven, said, *O Lord, forsake not those that put their Trust in thee; all that thou*

hast bestowed upon us is here; if we lose it, the whole Family is reduced to the utmost Extremity: Preserve it, O my God, and I promise before thee, that I will assemble all the Christians in the Neighbourhood, and we will go to Church together, to demonstrate my acknowledgment of the same. Thereupon, he loosed a small Relique from his Chaplet, threw it into the middle of the Flames that by this time cover'd part of the House.

This Action, perform'd with such a sprightly Air, did equally attract the Attention of Christians and Idolaters, who mightily astonished at their Companions Confidence, expected the event of the Business; when Heaven all on the suddain, declar'd it self in a most miraculous manner; The Wind blowing violently, forthwith slacken'd, and a contrary Wind stronger than that arising at the same time, drove the violent Streams of the Flames to the opposite side, upon the House of a wicked falsehearted Christian, that had lately abjured. It was consumed in a Moment, becoming an Example of divine Vengeance, as the House that Heaven preserved, was an evident Token of his Protection.

I was at that time Six Miles from the Village. 'Tis true, my urgent Business hindred me from being my self upon the Spot; but I sent very credible Persons thither, to be inform'd about it. The Pagans first of all, bore Witness to the Truth; and some while after, the Christians thereabouts, conducted by *him* who was lately heard in his Prayer, appear'd in my Church to fulfil his Vow; where with one accord, they eccho'd forth the Praises of the Great God, who alone is able to cause his Voice to be heard by the most insensible Creatures, to the Confusion of false Gods, that are not themselves capable to hear the Voice of rational Creatures.

Some Months after, there happened a thing no less surprising, the Consequences whereof, were very beneficial

neficial to Religion: An Idolater of an indifferent Fortune, felt himself assaulted with an unknown Distemper; it was so catching, that his Mother and Wife shar'd in it likewise: Two or three times a Week he fell into fainting Fits, which at the beginning, look'd like Swooning, and then turned again into cruel Head-aches, Pains in the Stomach and Bowels, sometimes they found themselves extreamly agitated, as if they had had a Fever; they lost the use of their Reason, their Eyes rolled in their Heads, and men judged by several other unusual Postures, that the Devil had a hand in the matter.

They were the more perswaded to it, because they often found their House all put out of Order, the Chairs, Tables, and earthen Vessels overthrown, not knowing on whom to lay the Fault. The Physicians whose Interest it was to pass Judgment, that Nature on the one hand, and the Malice of the People of the Family on the other, were the Cause of these several Actions, made use of all their Medicines to Cure them. The *Bonzes* on the contrary assured them, that the Devil was the Author of the Mischief, and demanded unreasonable Alms to stop it's Course. So that the good People abused on every hand, had thrown away all their Estate in Four Years time upon the Covetousness of these Impostors, without finding any Benefit: However, seeing the Distemper afforded them some Intervals, they sought up and down in the Cities thereabouts for new Remedies for their Griefs.

One Day, this Idolater going for this purpose to the chief City, he found a Christian upon the Road, to whom he told his Condition, and how miserably he was handled; no Question, saith the Christian, but it's the Devil that torments you; but you well deserve it; Why do you serve so bad a Master? we fear no such thing, because we acknowledge one God, whom the Devils adore; yea, they tremble before his Image;

and the Cross only that we wear about us, hinders him from coming near us. If you will accept of a Picture of JESUS CHRIST, and you and all your Family will Honour it; it will not be long before you see the Effects of it: However, it is soon tried, it shall cost you nothing, and you may judge by that, that I have no other aim but your Benefit.

The Idolater consented to it, and hanging the holy Image in the most honorable Place of the House, he prostrated himself before it with profound Respect, and begged every day Morning and Evening of our Saviour, that he would vouchsafe to heal his Body, and enlighten his Mind. His Mother and Daughter followed his Example, and from that very Moment the *Demons* abandoned the Place, of which JESUS CHRIST had taken possession.

These good People growing stronger and stronger in Faith, as the evil Spirit gave ground, began at last to think of being Converted in good earnest. They came to enquire for me at *Signanfou* the usual Place of my Residence, and demanded Baptism of me; they had already got themselves Instructed; they had moreover got all the Prayers by heart that we teach the late Catechumens: But their Distemper making a great Noise in the Country, I was willing every Body should be Witnesses of this Conversion, and so went to the Village my self, hoping this Miracle might settle Christianity therein, upon a solid *Basis*.

Just upon my appearing, all the Inhabitants followed me to the Place where the Image was still hanging; then I begun to tell them, that they were not to question the Verity of our Religion; God, having himself spoken by a manifest Miracle; but that I had caused them to assemble, to Instruct and Baptize them: For, in a Word, what do you desire more to be convinced of the Weakness of your Gods, and the Power of our God? the *Demon* laughs at you so long as you oppose

oppose him with nothing but Idols; but he is not able to hold it out against the Image only of the Christian's God. Do you imagin to escape this God after Death, whose Power Hell owns, and whose Justice it experiences every Moment.

The multitude interrupted me by a Thousand ridiculous Objections, which I easily answered; at last some body told me, that the Devil had no hand in the Malady in Question; that how extraordinary soever it appeared, might proceed from several natural Causes: that is, said I, the most rational Thing you can say; but yet does no way extenuate the greatness of the Miracles. Let the Malady come from the Devil, or from Nature, I will not examin that; but it is certain at least, that the Cure comes from God, whose Image this man hath worshipped; and there is no less Power requisite to cure natural Distempers, than to drive out evil Spirits. This Reason should have made an equal Impression on all Minds, but Grace that acted differently in the hearts, gave place in some to voluntary Obdurateness, whilst it triumph'd over the Obstinacy of others. Twenty five Persons at last *gave Glory to God, who alone worketh great Marvels*: *Qui facit Mirabilia magna solus*; and were shortly after Baptized.

These Hauntings, and Infestations of *Demons*, are very ordinary in *China* amongst the Idolaters; and it looks as if God permitted it so to be, to oblige them to have Recourse to him. Sometime after this Accident that I but just now Related, a Maid, just upon her Marriage, was attacked with a Complication of several Diseases, which the Physicians knew not what to say to, and which the *Chinese* are wont to ascribe to the *Demons*. Her Mother perswaded her to turn Christian, and he that was to marry her, promised to build a Church to the God of the Christians, in case Baptism gave her any Relief: As soon as ever this Maid had

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taken this Course, she found herself not only Relieved, but perfectly Cured.

But her Husband was so far from following her Example, that he misused her several times for having obliged him to renounce his Faith; for the *Bonzes* perswaded him, that this Sickness was but a piece of Artifice in his Mother in Law; and this Fancy alone, put him into such a fit of Melancholy, that he was insupportable to the whole Family, but especially to his Wife, who from that very instant, became an object of his Aversion. It was in vain to represent to him his own Mistake, and the Malice of the *Bonzes*, for he always protested, that if she would not take up her old Religion again, he would lead her an ill Life all her Days.

God, to undeceive him, suffered *the Demon* to torment his Wife as before; so she relapst into her former Convulsions: She was more especially scared at the sight of a great Company of *Specters*, that let her not have an hours rest. Thus tost up and down, abandoned to her Husband's Inhumanity, that beat her Cruelly, she in all appearance led a very uncomfortable Life: Yet remaining unmovable in her Faith, God always upheld her, and temper'd and allay'd by the inward sweetness of his Grace, the bitterness of these Afflictions; he comforted her likewise by sensible Visitations, by his Word, and by the unspeakable Cogitations, that he from time to time infused into her Soul. Insomuch, that this Condition that gain'd her the Compassion of all that knew her, was to her a fore-taste of Paradise. She expresst her self much-what to this purpose to her Mother in Law, who related it to me with Tears in her Eyes; for her Husband could not endure that I should see her.

At first, I gave little Credit to this Discourse, yet at length, I was apt to believe there was something Supernatural in it; for one Day, coming to a City distant

distant from the chief City where I sojourn'd, about Threescore Miles; there I found this good Woman with a great Company of Christians of the Neighbour-Towns, which she had taken Care to get together, being confident, that I would come at the very Minute that she had fixt in her Mind, and it fell out accordingly. It much surprised me to see her there, for I had no design to come thither, and it was only by Chance that some body had, about Five or Six hours before, made me resolve to come thither, so that no body could give her Notice of this my Resolution. I took her in Private, to learn of her how she came to know this, she told me that her Daughter, after a violent assault of a *Demon*, had been visited by our Blessed LORD, that when this *Extasie* was over, she advised her to acquaint the Christians, and bring them to this Village; for without all peradventure I would come thither on such a day: In fine, added she, not being able to come thither my self, and seeing my Sins render me unworthy to partake of those sacred Mysteries, pray desire the Father to offer up the holy Sacrifice of the Mass for me, and the Conversion of my Husband. This poor Mother relating to me this Accident, wept bitterly for the present State of her Daughter, Nevertheless, the accomplishment of this Prophecy, comforted, and built her up in her most holy Faith. I cannot tell what happened since that time, for the necessity of my Affairs, obliged me to leave that Province.

The extraordinary Things that I have seen, the Zeal of the Christians, and the Inclination of Idolaters to be converted, inspired me with an affectionate Zeal for their Salvation; and I heartily wisht to bestow the remainder of my Life, upon the Cultivating this precious Portion of our Lord's Inheritance: But some superior Reasons which I am bound to obey, snatcht me from it sore against my Will: At this Separa-

paration, I was more sensible than ever of my Loss.

These good People so affectionate to their Pastors, were almost ready to offer Violence to me; but understanding that they could not detain me without opposing the Will of God, they abandon'd themselves to sorrow, and gave such abundant Marks of their Affection, that I my self never shed more real and bitter Tears: They waited for me upon the High-way in Crowds, where they had spread Tables from Space to Space, covered with all sorts of Fruits, and Confectionaries. It was sometimes necessary to make a stop, not to eat, but to hear their Complaints, and to comfort them, for leaving them *as Sheep without a Shepherd.* They made me promise them to return as soon as possible, or to send them some Body in my Place. Thus I took my leave of these fervent Christians, melted with their Tears, but much more edified with their Faith and the innocence of their Lives.

God, who knows the Violence I committed upon my self, comforted me by an eminent Conversion he vouchsafed to work at the fartheſt Limits and last Village of this Province. There is something in it so Signal that I cannot forbear relating it.

I departed from *Signanfou* the Metropolis of this Province upon the Eve of a considerable Festival of our Lady's, which I was naturally engaged to spend in that Church, where the Multitude, and Devotion of Believers invited me to say Mass that Day, and to administer the Sacraments to them, being the last Time I was likely to do it; yea, and the publick Edification did even seem to require it of me, every one in general desired I would; and I don't know how contrary to Reason; I was very Obstinate and Resolute not to delay my Journey a Minute; but the Truth is, I felt inwardly I know not what internal Motion that would not give me leave to stay any longer; nay, more than that, in Spight of the Superstition

tion of the *Chinese*, who observe lucky and unlucky Days to begin Journeys, I made my Idolater Guides to depart on a Day mark'd in the Kalendar for an Unfortunate one. They were surprised at this Precipitation; yea, and I my self reflecting afterwards upon it, could not choose but condemn it, not understanding then by what Spirit I was influenced, and impulst, but God let me presently understand it, on the Fourth Day after my Departure, I continu'd my Journey, and I was just upon my Arrival in the very fartheſt City of the Province of *Chensi*, when a man that rid Post, passing just by me, fell to the Ground, and by his Fall was like to have turned me over on the other side: This Accident stopt me a little, and afforded time to the Traveller who was got up again, to take a View of me.

Notwithstanding the multitude of Passengers was great, yet my long Beard, and *European* Mein made me presently known to be a Missionary: I am very Fortunate, says the Man immediately, to meet with you; that Accident that happened to me, spares me the Labour of a long Journey, and will engage you to a good Deed. My Master, who lives not above Half a League from hence, ordered me to ride Post to *Signanfou*, to engage you to come to him; he hath been indisposed these several Months, and we are apt to believe that he seriously thinks of being Converted. I quickly left the High-way, to follow him, and we reach'd the house at one a Clock in the Afternoon.

He was a Doctor, in high Renown by his Extraction and Understanding, living formerly at *Pekin*; but Banished some Years before into *Chensi*, for I know not what bad Business; the time of his Banishment expired, and he was resolved to return to Court, as soon as his Health should permit him to take his Journey; for he did not look upon his Distemper to be dangerous: The Feaver had left him, and besides a Cough

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that troubled him now and then, and made him still keep his Bed, he perceived no considerable Inconvenience.

His Servant being but just departed, when he see me come into his House, he was seized with Astonishment, as if God had transported me into his House in a Moment; Is it possible, cries he all in Tears, that Heaven should work Wonders for such a wretch as I am? God hath solicited me these many Years to go to him, without receiving any thing from my hardness of heart; 'tis but a Moment since I begg'd of him to come to me in the Person of one of his Ministers, he not only hears me, but does even anticipate my Desires. This is somewhat beyond the Power of Nature, and this Favour does the business of my Change. You know by that, Father, that this Great God is concerned in my Salvation, and that it is his Pleasure that you should contribute something to further it. Then proceeding, you see saith he, my Wife, Children, and Daughter, they have been all Christians along time ago: and I can say that God hath made use of me as an Instrument, to undeceive them of their errors. I have given them your Books, I have explained the Maxims and Morality of it to them, the Sanctity which your Religion inspires, persuaded me I should have a well ordered Family, as soon as it should be a Christian Family I was not mistaken, and my Conscience would not have given me the lie, had I followed their Example; but I have a long time laboured to procure their Welfare, and could never find in my heart to consult mine own: Now it is high time to follow that Way I have showed to others. The Court whither I am going, is not a proper Place for Conversion; and I thought that it was my Duty, *whilst it is called to day*, to seek God, for fear the Hurry of the World, wherein I am going to engage, should hinder me from finding him hereafter.

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All his Family which came about us upon this, wept for joy; but that which affected me most, was that Fervency I saw expanded in the Eyes, Countenance, and in all the motions of the sick Person. I had taken no refreshment, and it was near Two a Clock, and I was desirous to defer his Baptism till after Dinner, but I found it impossible to obtain any delay. I therefore began to examine him, and he was ready to answer to all the Articles of Religion, that I yielded at length to all his urgent Intreaties. I baptized him, and he accompanied the whole action with such ardent and lively meditations of Love, Humility, Faith and Hope, that nothing in all my Life did ever so much demonstrate to me what the Holy Spirit is able to do in an Heart, when it alone pleases to take it to task, without the assistance of its Ministers. Some while after I left him alone full of Consolation, and retired to a Chamber to take a little repose, of which I had extream need.

But scarce had I been there half an hour, but I heard great Cries in all the Family. They called for me every where; and running upon the noise to the sick Man's Chamber, I found him expiring in the Embraces of his Wife and Children. I endeavoured to put him in mind of the last thoughts of Baptism: He still repeated with a languishing note the names of *Jesus* and *Mary*; but yet he received the Extream Unction in a manner insensible, after which he calmly gave up the Ghost. All those that were present cried, O it was a Miracle! And recollecting what had happened at my departure, upon the Road, and in the House, they did no longer question but that all that had been managed by an over-ruling Providence, that had made use of all these secret methods, for to procure him a blessed *exit*.

At that time the Spirit of the Lord seized upon all hearts, no body wept; the spiritual Joy was so universal,

verſal, that nothing was heard any where but Bleſſings, Praiſes and Thanksgivings, to that gracious God, that had but now wrought ſuch ſtupendious Miracles in his Servant. What is to be moſt admired is, that there was not obſerved in him that deformity that Death commonly leaves behind it; but on the contrary, I know not what ayre of ſweetneſs and devotion ſeemed diſplay'd over his countenance, and did ſufficiently intimate the bleſſed ſtate of his Soul. He was laid in State, according to the cuſtom of that Country, where I found him the next day twenty hours after juſt as he was; his Hands and Arms beſides were as flexible as if he had been but in a ſlumber.

Thus God by one of thoſe many profound ſecrets of his Predeſtination, vouchſafes to enlighten a Soul ſometimes in the midſt of the darkneſs of Idolatry, and ſnatch it from the Jaws of Hell by a continual ſeries of Miracles; whilſt millions of others, educated in the boſom of the Church, are, by his juſt Judgment, given over to a reprobate mind.

Thoſe are, moſt Reverend Father, the moſt extraordinary things that have happened to me during the ſmall time that I have had the care of the Miſſion of *Chenſi*: If I mention not what paſt in the other Provinces of *China*, it is becauſe God doth not work ſuch like Miracles therein; but by reaſon I have no exact Memorial of them, I was afraid leſt relating upon hear-ſay, I ſhould be deficient in ſome conſiderable Circumſtances; and I had rather let them be ſet down in writing hereafter, by thoſe who are better informed than my ſelf.

This I can add over and above, to give you a more exact account of what good there hath been done in the Empire. There are above two hundred Churches or private Chappels, dedicated to the true God, and governed by certain Eccleſiaſtical Superiors;

periors; *Pekin*, *Nankin*, and *Macao*, have each its particular Bishop, by the nomination of the most Serene King of *Portugal*, who by his Zeal and Liberalities, continues to uphold Christianity throughout all the East, which all his Predecessors have there Establish'd with so much Glory.

The other Provinces when I departed, were under the Jurisdiction of three Apostolick Vicars, * one whereof is an *Italian* of the Order of St. *Francis*, † the two others are Ecclesiasticks, *Frenchmen* by Nation, Doctors of the *Sorbonne* of singular worth: the Missionaries that labour under their Order are likewise of different Nations. There are four Ecclesiasticks of the Seminary of foreign Missions of *Paris*, amongst whom the Abbot of *Lionne* is very eminent for his Zeal, and application to the study of Languages, they reckon much about the same number of Fathers of St. *Dominic*, twelve or fifteen *Franciscans*, and three or four of the Order of St. *Augustin*: All these Monks are *Spaniards*, and come into *China* by *Manille*.

* The Reverend Father *de Liciniſſa*.
† Mons. *Maigrot* and Monsieur *Pin*.

The Jesuits who Founded this Mission, and who by the extraordinary favours of his Majesty the King of *Portugal*, as well as of the Emperor of *China*, have been in a capacity to make considerable settlements, do maintain a great number of Missionaries there; there was about forty of them at the time of my departure. Since that time the Fathers *Grimaldi* and *Spinola* * brought several others thither. But what signifies forty or threescore Labourers in such a vast Field? May it please the Master of the Harvest to hear the Voice of those that labour therein, who groaning under the burthen and heat of the day, beg relief: Or at least, may he please to shed abroad abundantly upon us that first Spirit

* Father *Spinola* died by the way.

of the Gospel, which, in one Apostle alone, was sufficient heretofore to Convert the greatest Empires.

Not but that the present State of the Church doth afford matter of Consolation to those who are concern'd for the Glory of JESUS CHRIST. They labour with no small success; nay there are but few Missionaries that do not Baptize every Year three or four hundred Persons; insomuch that in five or six Years they reckon above fifty thousand Idolaters Converted. Besides that, they Baptize every Year four or five thousand Children in the Streets of *Pekin*, which they go to look for every morning from door to door, where we find them half perish'd with cold and hunger, nay sometimes half eaten up by Dogs. If they should do no more good but this, the Missionaries would think themselves well enough rewarded for all the pains they take.

But that which ought to animate us to cultivate this Mission better than all others, is the hope one day to Convert the Emperor; the change of whose Religion would infallibly be followed by the intire Conversion of the whole Nation; so that although we should wait for this happy moment three or four Ages, without any other profit than what we hope for, in time to come, we should be too happy in preparing by our patience the way of the Lord in this New World, which perhaps will make better improvement of the Faith, that our Successors shall bring to it, than *Europe* does at present of *that* our Forefathers intrusted it withal.

In short, altho' amongst the Christians that are in *China*, we can reckon no more Princes and Ministers of State since the last Persecution of Father *Adam*, yet for all that we Baptise every Year *Mandarins*, Doctors and other Persons of Quality; yet it is true that the common People make up the greatest number: *Non multi potentes, non multi nobiles.*

And

And it is no news to own that the Poor have always been the elect Portion and precious Inheritance of JESUS CHRIST in the Church.

The main body of Christians is in the Province of *Nankin*, and more especially in the Territory *Cham-Hai*; but the Faith is more lively in the Provinces of *Chanton*, *Pechely*, *Chensi*, and *Chansi*. There are in proportion as many *Tartarians* as *Chinese* Christians; these are more docil, and much easier to be Converted; yet in time of Temptation they have not half so much Courage. The *Tartars* on the contrary being naturally of a brisk temper, do not easily stoop under the Yoak of the Gospel; but those over whom Grace hath once triumphed, are endued with a Vertue that is proof against the sorest Persecutions. As for Women, which we see more rarely, altho' they be less instructed than the Men, yet their Innocence, their constant attendance at Prayer, their blind submission to the Precepts of Faith, and the most harsh and severe Practices of Christian Piety, does in some measure supply their defect of Knowledge as to the particulars of our Mysteries.

It were to be wish'd that the Beauty and Ornament of our Churches might answer the devout Fervour of Christians: But, besides that, the *Chinese* are no great Architects; this novel Christianity, so frequently shaken by Persecutions, composed for the most of the poorer sort of People, only tolerated by the by, and always fain to observe a great many punctilio's and keep within bounds, hath not yet been in a condition to rear magnificent Temples. Nevertheless it is matter of astonishment that the Missionaries with such a pitiful Fund as theirs is, should be able on this score to do so much.

The Church of *Pekin* is very well built; the Frontispiece, the Stones of which were laid by the Missionaries themselves, is very proportionable and pleasing.

Those in *Kiam cheou*, *Cham-hai*, and *Fou-tçheou*, that which the Fathers have at *Canton*, and divers others, are as fine as our ordinary Churches of *Europe*; but the Church of *Cham-tçheou* was so very pretty and neat, that one could not enough admire it: You could see nothing but Gildings, Paintings, and curious Pictures, it was all over adorn'd with them; yea and there was a great deal of Symetry and Order in the whole. That delicate red and black Vernish which the *Chineses* are so expert at, to which they give a particular relief or emboſſment, by the Flowers of Gold and other Figures wherewith they enrich it, did produce the fineſt Effect in the World to compleat the whole.

But this goodly Church, the product of Christians Devotion, and of Father *Intorcetta*'s Zeal, is lately reduc'd to ashes by a dreadful Conflagration that consum'd one quarter of the City; and in all probability we shall not be in a capacity a long time to perform any thing like it. Nevertheless it will be our comfort to support us after this loss, if it shall please our blessed Lord to destroy at the same that pack of Idols which have overflow'd the whole Empire; and that he will vouchsafe to raise himself Living Temples in the hearts of the new Believers, where he may be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth; wherein, for want of *ours*, they may offer to him the sacrifices of Praise and Thanksgiving.

I shall not entertain you, most Reverend Father, concerning the Transactions of the *Indies*, where the Revolution of a huge Kingdom, the Jealousies of some *Europeans*, together with the continual thwartings of Hereticks, have broken all the measures that Christian prudence obliged us to take for the Cause of Religion; so that the most part of the French Missionaries have been hitherto more conspicuous by their Sufferings, than by their Conversion of Idolaters.

Some

Some of them, after having lingerd out several Years in the most darksom Prisons, scarce begin to see the Light, and are not yet in a condition even to exercise their Functions with any freedom. Others droven from their settlements, wander up and down upon the most tempestuous Oceans, carrying along with them the miserable remainders of their ruin'd Missions; and that they may return to the remotest parts of the World, they commit themselves a fourth time to the mercy of the Waves and their Enemies.

Several buried in Shipwracks, or worn out with Toils, have gloriously finished their course; and tho' their Companions live still, it is only to consume by little and little the sacrifice of their Lives, by the ill habit of body they have contracted by their first labours.

You see, most Reverend Father, what sort of Persons they be I speak of, you know their names, you understand their worth, and since they were chosen from amongst a great many other Candidates for the *East-Indies*, you have been pleased always to honour them with a most particular affection: and may I be bold to add, that you were not satisfied with only sending of them, you followed your self in some respect, and became the Fellow, or rather the Head of their Apostleship, sharing, like one of the most zealous Missionaries in the success of their holy undertakings, zealously lending an helping hand to their Labours, delivering them from their Chains by a powerful protection, or at least lightning the weight by consolatory Letters, full of that lively hope that makes a Man take delight in the most rigid Persecutions.

This Courage, most Reverend Father, which you have inspired into us does not only alleviate our Sufferings, but also assures us that the ruins of this grand Edifice, that we have laid the first Stone of to the glory of God, will one day serve for a Basis to ano-

ther Work, yet more considerable and solid than the first.

So that neither the Shipwreck of * three of our Brethren buried in Sea, nor the loss of † three more who Sacrificed their lives a board the Vessel in relieving the Sick, nor yet the death of a great many more whom the Fatigues of the Mission have snatch'd from us in the *Indies*, nor the Prisons of *Pegu, Siam, Moluccas, Batavia, Roterdam* nor *Middleburg*, where Pagans and Hereticks have tried our Patience by turns; all that, I say, does not blunt the edge of our Courage, being fully perswaded that JESUS CHRIST hath made use of the Cross to Propagate and Establish Religion: so the Missionaries Cross is always to be the Foundation of their Churches, and as it were the Seed of New Christians.

* *Barnaby, Theonvil, Nivart.* † *Rochette, le Blanc Serlu, Daudy.*

In the mean time these first Labours have not been altogether in vain; we baptised at *Boudychery* above four hundred Idolatrous Children: the People of *Coromandel* have been relieved, as were those of *Ceylon, Pegu* and *Bengala*. They labour'd with no small success in divers Provinces of the Empire of the Great *Mogul*, and above all in the Missions of *Madura*. Such Missions, as in them we see in our days the Ages of the Primitive Church revived; wherein Believers, wretchedly poor and deprived of all the comforts of life, seem to live only by their Faith, Hope, and Charity, wherein the Missionaries, to comply with the Customs of the Country, and obtain the Peoples favour, spend their lives in Forests and Deserts, half naked, scorched by the Sun beams, walk for the most part upon scalding hot Sands; where upon the Ways full of Briers and Thorns, they take no other sustenance but a little Rice, with some insipid Plants, and no other Beverege but yellow muddy water from the Ditches and Marshes. There

There it is where a great number of our Brethren have suffered, and do still daily suffer Imprisonments, Chains, Scourgings, and all the torments that Hell is wont to suggest to the Enemies of our most holy Faith. There Father *Brito*, illustrious by his Birth, as also by the particular esteem wherewith his Majesty of *Portugal* honoured him, but yet more, much more by his rare Vertues, had the honour to part with his life in the Cause of JESUS CHRIST, where his Brethren, after his example, labour by their fervency to obtain the same favour from Heaven.

Perhaps, most Reverend Father, this Portraiture will not please the Men of this World, not being ready to bestow upon Sufferings the just value they deserve, *and to savour the things that are of God*, yet I know that will not abate the Zeal of our Fathers living in *France*, who have so many years aspired to toilsome tedious Employments.

The Missions in respect of them have so many more allurements, as they appear to others more hideous and frightful: If they expected to find in the *Indies* only common crosses, whereunto Providence makes every Kingdom subject, but wherewith JESUS CHRIST hath in special manner enrich'd Christianity, they would have been contented with their Recluse Religious way of living, and with the eminent Vertues practised therein; they would never perhaps have had the least thought of leaving their Friends, Relations, and Country. But they seek elsewhere, what we here want of the Passion of JESUS CHRIST, according to the Apostles Counsel, and they are willing to fill up the whole extent, the breadth, and depth of this Divine Law, which carries them out with St. *Paul*, to become Victims of the most pure Charity, even so far as to be Anathemised that their Brethren may be saved.

Yet these are those Apostles, most Reverend Father, whom Envy sometimes in *France*, paints out to us in such black Colours, whom Heresie, ever more opposite to true Zeal, so often accuseth of Ambition, Avarice, Impiety and Idolatry, they are too happy in being the *Butt* that all the Shots of Calumny level at, provided they have none for their Enemies but the Enemies of the Church and Truth; and without doubt the War that such Adversaries declare against them, with so much heat and animosity here in *Europe*, does no less justifie them than that which they themselves declare against Paganism in the *Indies*.

Nevertheless, what Justice soever wise Men may do them in this point, yet it is most true that that does not suffice to justifie them before God, before whom the very Angels are impure; after all the efforts of our Zeal, we must not only acknowledge in all humility that we are unprofitable Servants, but confess likewise with thoughts full of horrour, that it is in vain to win over all the Nations upon Earth to JESUS CHRIST; if in the mean time we be so sluggish as to neglect our own Salvation, and unfortunately lose our selves. I am with a profound respect,

Most Reverend Father,

Your most humble

and most obedient Servant,

L. J.

To

To my Lord Cardinal de Janſon.

The Chriſtian Religion newly approved of by a Publick Edict, throughout the whole Empire of China.

My Lord,

IT ſeems as if Heaven, ſenſible of the Labours of our Miſſionaries, who for theſe ſeveral years have with the ſweat of their Brows watered *China*, had a mind at length to eſtabliſh this New Church upon a ſolid Foundation. Hitherto it hath been ſubject to abundance of Revolutions, flouriſhing under the Reign of ſome Emperors, perſecuted in the time of their minority, and in a manner totally ruin'd during the Inteſtine Commotions; but always in a tottering condition by reaſon of the rigour of the Laws, that have permitted a right to deſtroy it, even to thoſe that have the moſt defended it.

For the Sovereign Courts of *China*, declared Enemies to all Foreign Worſhip, rather out of a Spirit of Policy, than any ſincere affection to the Religion of the Country, have frequently condemned the Chriſtian Doctrine, and puniſhed thoſe who had the Courage to embrace it. Several of them for all that hearkned to the Voice of God, rather than to the voice of Man; but the greateſt part apprehending danger as to their Fortune, were ſo far from purſueing the known Truth, that they durſt not ſo much as get themſelves inſtructed therein

It

It is a matter of an hundred years that we have labour'd to remove this almoſt invincible obſtacle to the Converſion of Great Perſons. The hour of the Lord was not yet come, he was pleaſed to exerciſe the patience of his Chriſtians, to try the conſtancy of the Miſſionaries and thereby inhance the worth of them both. But now at laſt the happy Day begins to dawn, and the Emperor hath granted an intire Liberty of Conſcience to his Subjects by allowing in a publick Edict the Chriſtian Faith throughout the whole extent of his Empire. * *Thou haſt, O Lord, broken the Chains that held thy holy Religion Captive, now can we offer ſacrifices, and call publickly upon thy name; we preſent to thee our Vows, not in ſecret as formerly, but in preſence of all the People, in the Temples they ſuffer us to rear to thy glory, who are about to change the Old* Babilon *into the New* Jeruſalem. Here I do preſent you, my Lord, with the occaſion, and the whole continued ſeries of this happy event.

* Pſal. cxix.

Father *Alcala* a *Spaniſh Dominican*, one of the moſt Zealous Miſſionaries in *China*, had purchaſed an Houſe at *Lanki*, a little Village of the Province of *Chekiam*, notwithſtanding this ſettlement was expreſly againſt the Edict of 1669. the Mandarin of the place, who at firſt did not oppoſe it, being afterwards netled at ſome indiſcreet words that eſcaped unawares from ſome of this Fathers menial Servants, was reſolved not to diſſemble the matter any longer, but to proceed according to the courſe of Law againſt him.

He therefore asked the Miſſionary how he durſt preſume to ſettle in the City? Why he preached up a Foreign Doctrine? And moreover by what right he pretended to remain in the Empire? This Father foreſaw the ſtorm gather, and had prepared himſelf beforehand. 'I wonder, my Lord, ſays he in an-'ſwer to the Mandarin, that you reckon that Cri-

'minal

'minal in me at present that you did not disapprove 'at the beginning. You know that for some years 'the Emperor hath kept and preserved in the Empire 'five of my *European* Brethren (he meant us) that he 'hath not only sent for them to Court, but also hath 'by a publick Edict granted them power to settle in 'whatsoever place of the Kingdom they shall think 'fit: it is for one of them that I have bought this 'House, and I Lodge in it till such time as he come 'himself to take Possession of it.

'Moreover, you cannot be ignorant that the Mis-'sionaries had liberty granted them to come again in-'to their Churches, when the Emperor did them the 'favour to recal them from their Banishment. Con-'sult, I pray, consult your Registers upon the busi-'ness, and there you will find my name.

Some months after another Mandarin solicited by him of *Lanki*, or at least urged to it by his Example, was resolved to put a stop to the progress of our holy Doctrine, he prohibited the Exercise thereof through the whole extent of his Government, by an order which he caused to be affixed in divers places. They treated Religion in such despightful manner, that Father *Intorcetta* of our Society, and Missionary in the Metropolis of this Province, thought himself obliged not to dissemble the Affront without betraying his Ministerial Function.

He supposed likewise that he had right on his side formally to accuse this sworn Enemy of the Gospel, whose behaviour was so excentrical from the Emperors intentions; for this Prince had blotted out with his own hand a great many Lines of a Book that ranked the Christian Doctrine in the number of dangerous and popular Heresies: this Book was of moment, not only by reason of its Author, eminent for his quality and desert, but much more for that it was Composed for the Peoples Instruction, by whom

it

it was to be Read, according to the Cuſtom, ſeveral times a year.

Father *Intorcetta* did therefore judge it a piece of boldneſs that made the Mandarin liable to the laſh, to condemn, by his private Authority, that which the Emperor ſeemed to allow of, and approve, ſo that the Father writ a very ſmart pithy Letter to the Governour of the Capital City, in which he deſired him to cauſe this Subaltern Officer to retract his words, and ſo get this injurious Writing to be torn in pieces: he likewiſe added, that to repair this fault, he could wiſh that the Mandarin might affix other Papers in the place of the others, more favourable to the Religion, and more conformable to the Emperors intentions.

The Governour diſpatched this Letter to the Mandarin, and as ill luck would have it, it was delivered to him upon a day that he heard Cauſes, in ſight of all the People, at the very time that he was buſie in paſſing Judgement. He ſo much reſented this affront, that contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Chineſe*, and maugre his natural Phlegm; he ſtarted from the Bench tranſported with Choler, complained of the Impudence of the Miſſionary, and proteſted openly that he would be revenged.

That he might carry on the buſineſs more ſucceſſfully, he aſſociated himſelf with the Mandarin of *Lanki*, and combined with him, if poſſible, utterly to deſtroy the Chriſtian Religion. Their firſt attempt was to aſſault the *Dominican* Frier, on whom they thought more eaſily to accompliſh their deſign, for they could not imagin that he was of the number of the Antient Miſſionaries. To be rightly informed of the matter, they cauſed to be produced certain Authentick Copies of every procedure during the whole courſe of the Perſecution againſt Father *Fii*, (for ſo was he called) with a deſign to confront him with himſelf.

It

It is a peculiar trick, pretty common in *China*, with the Mandarins, to question the Criminals not only about matters of Fact, but also concerning abundance of insignificant Circumstances, causing all they answer carefully to be taken in Writing. Then when they have talked a pretty while of a matter quite foreign to the Subject in hand, to distract their mind, all on a sudden they return to the thing in question; they begin over and over the Declaration, they change the order of the Interrogatives, and cunningly interpose Answers contrary to those the guilty Person made, on purpose to make him contradict himself, the more easily to sift out the Truth.

Father *Alcala*, without all doubt, would have been put to his Trumps if he had not, by a particular Providence, preserved a Copy of these antient proceedings. Wherefore knowing the intent and design of his Judges, he so well informed himself of all that had heretofore past to this purpose, and delivered himself so pertinently, and conformably to the first Interrogatory, that his Enemies were never able to prevail over him as to his answers.

So that all the Storm fell upon Father *Intorcetta* again, against whom they were much more animated and incensed; but forasmuch as this Father did not live within their Jurisdiction, they Suborned many considerable Mandarins, and the Vice-Roy in particular, who added to his absolute power in the Province, a greater aversion for the Christian Religion.

They all unanimously resolved to beat down Christianity, and after having caused all the proceedings formerly made against Missionaries, to be sought out in the Archives of the Intendant of the City Government: they found at last the Decree of 1669. that strictly prohibited them to build any Churches; to Teach in publick or in private the *European*'s Law, to Administer Baptism to the *Chinese*, to distribute Medals

Medals, Chaplets, Crucifixes, or other ſuch like tokens of Religion, to Chriſtians.

The Miſſionaries were not ignorant of theſe Prohibitions, but their particular Zeal, and the example of *Pekin*, where the Goſpel was preached under the Emperors very Noſe, no body pretending to ſay any thing againſt it; put them upon waving the uſual Rules of human Prudence. Theſe very conſiderations made moſt part of the Mandarins to connive, and whenever any one of them took upon him to impede the progreſs of the Faith, they endeavoured to pacifie him by Preſents, and Letters of Recommendation procured for us by the Fathers of *Pekin*, or elſe, if need required, we made uſe of the Emperor's Authority againſt him.

The Chriſtians of *Ham-tcheou* under the Cure of Father *Intorcetta*, were none of the leaſt Zealous. Their Courage had appeared under the Government of divers Mandarins, great Sticklers againſt our moſt holy Faith; but their Courage was never more apparent than in the preſent occaſion, for the Vice-Roy ſuppoſing that he was impowered to undertake any thing by Vertue of the Decree aforementioned, cauſed to be affix'd to the Gate of our Houſe, in all the publick places of the Capital City, and afterwards in above ſeventy Cities of his Government, a new Sentence, by which he forbid under grievous Penalties to exerciſe the Chriſtian Religion, charging all thoſe that embraced it to forſake it *.

* *This happened about the middle of* Auguſt, An. 1691.

Moreover, being informed that Father *Intorcetta* was formerly in the Province of *Kianſi*, and that he had not obtained leave from the Court to ſettle in *that* of *Che-Kiam*, he ſent to ask him by what Authority he durſt preſume to ſtay there; yea, and he commanded him forthwith to avoid the Country, the Officer, that brought

brought this Order, added, I command you withal, in the name of the Vice-Roy, to burn all the Books of your Religion, together with the *Tables* of Printing that you have in your House. They are thin Boards upon which they have Engraven all the Leaves, from which they may take Copies according as occasion serves.

The Father, not at all surprised, answered that he was in the City by the Authority of *him* who granted the privilege to the Vice-Roy himself to remain there. 'Have you forgot, added he, that the Em-'peror passing this way three years ago, sent two 'Grandees of his Court to my Church to offer Pre-'sents, in his name, to the true God, with expres's 'order to lie Prostrate before the Altars. I went to 'render him my most humble thanks for his gracious 'favour, annd that I might give him further demon-'strations of my acknowledgement, I was willing to ac-'company him upon the *Canal* at his departure, 'where he was with his whole Court.

'This grand Prince, who had formerly honoured 'me with more than ordinary demonstrations of his 'benevolence, taking notice of my Barge amongst 'a great number of others, caused it to approach his 'own, and spoke to me such obliging things; that 'after all that I could not suspect I should be exposed 'to any straits, or insults from any one of his Officers.

'But since this example hath made no impression 'upon the spirit of the Vice-Roy; Go tell him, that 'the Emperor, not being willing I should accompa-'ny him any farther, sent me back with these his last 'words to me, which are too advantageous to me to 'presume to alter, add, or diminish any thing in 'them. Your years, says he to me, do not permit 'you to attend me any longer, you are no ways in 'a condition to indure the fatigues of a Journey, I 'order you to return to your Church; and there to

'spend

'ſpend the remainder of your days. But, now, if 'the *Vice-Roy* does not only diſturb this tranquility by 'Ordinances injurious to the God whom I Adore, 'but forces me ſhamefully to quit his Province, I 'leave him to judge whether of us two does more 'openly, and peremptorily contradict the Emperors 'will and pleaſure.

'As to what relates to the Table, on which they 'have engraven the Law and Maxims of JESUS 'CHRIST. God forbid I ſhould be ſo wicked as to 'commit them to the Flames. However the Vice-'Roy is the Maſter, ſince I cannot reſiſt his Violence, 'but tell him from me, that before he reſolve upon 'that, he muſt begin with the burning of my ſelf.

The Vice-Roy ſurpriſed at the undauntedneſs of the Miſſionary, durſt attempt nothing upon his Perſon, but he referred the buſineſs to certain Subaltern Mandarins, who received order to ſummons this Father before their Tribunals, and to perplex and trouble him upon all accounts, without allowing him a moments reſpite. Father *Intorcetta*, who juſt then fell Sick, might have been diſpenſt with from appearing; but he was afraid to loſe theſe precious junctures of time that Providence had put into his hand, openly to confeſs the name JESUS CHRIST; and being reſolved not to recoil, or give ground during the Combat he got himſelf carried before Judges; much oppreſt by reaſon of the Malady he laboured under, and much more at the ſight of his deſolate Church: but beſides, he was ſo animated by the Holy Spirit, wherewith Martyrs are corroborated, that of all the Mandarins that Interrogated him, not one of them but admired the greatneſs of his Courage.

So that in deſpight of the vigorous Orders of the Vice-Roys, every one of them almoſt treated him with abundance of deference; even to that degree, that one of them cauſed an Officer of Juſtice to be ſoundly

soundly bastinadoed in open Court, for having been wanting in his respect to the Father. Adding, withal, that Indictments do not render a Man guilty, and that he must have been Convicted to deserve to be treated as a Malefactor.

Father *Intorcetta* presently foreseeing that the Persecution would be violent, had written to the Missionaries at Court, to the end that they might remedy it. The Emperor was then in *Tartary*, where he divertised himself in Hunting. Father *Gerbillon* a *French* Man by Nation, and one of those the King sent to *China*, accompanied this Prince thither, by whom he was particularly beloved, retaining him almost always near his Person; so that the Letters were directed to him.

This Father did not judge it convenient to speak of it to the Emperor, but contented himself to desire a Letter of Recommendation from Prince *Sosar*, one of the most powerful Ministers of the Empire, and his particular Friend, who immediately writ to the Vice-Roy in a most effectual manner. He represented to him, that such a procedure as his was smelled somewhat of Violence, and was inconsistent with his wonted Moderation and Prudence. We live in a time, saith he, that requires much gentleness and discretion. The Emperor seeks all occasions to favour the Doctors of the Christian Law, how can you possibly think to please him in Persecuting that? Believe me, Sir, the example of a Prince ought to make greater impression upon our Spirits than all the Decrees of Courts of Judicature, and the antient Edicts, that the Court itself can no longer follow, ought not at present to be the rule of its Conduct. If you favour the Missionaries, reckon that the Emperor will take it kindly from you, and if I may be permitted to subjoin any thing to this last motive, be assured also that I shall resent all the good

Offices you render them upon my Recommendation.

Prince *Soſan* is ſo Conſiderable through the whole Empire, (whether it be by the Honour he hath to be a near Relation to the Emperor, or whether by his Place of Grand Maſter of the Palace, or whether by his Credit and Capacity) that upon any other Occaſion, the Vice-roy of *Chequin* would have look'd upon it as a great Favour, to receive one of his Letters, and would not have balanced one Moment to ſatisfie him; but Paſſion had blinded him, and the Vexation to perceive himſelf leſs powerful at Court than a Stranger, inclined him to let the Miſſionary underſtand, that he was at leaſt the Maſter in his own Province.

Wherefore he began to ſeize upon ſeveral Churches, which he beſtowed on the Prieſts of the Pagan Gods, after he had violently taken away the ſacred Monuments of our Religion.

He iſſued out Proclamations much more rigorous than the former, he threatned the Father with his Indignation, if he did not abandon his Flock, and he cauſed ſeveral Chriſtians, that had but too openly declared themſelves, to be apprehended; ſome of them were haled to Priſon, they ſeverely puniſhed others, and then the Perſecution became bloody by the Torments, that theſe generous Confeſſors ſuffered for the Name of *JESUS*.

Amongſt thoſe who ſignaliſed themſelves, a Phyſician more eminently made his Faith appear; he was much grieved to ſee the Altars of the true God violated and deſpoiled, Croſſes broken in pieces, the holy Images expoſed to the Scorn, Laughter, and Impiety of Idolaters: To repair this Loſs, and that Believers might not be left deſtitute of the ordinary Marks of their Religion, he diſtributed to each of them Images and Crucifixes. He went from door to door with the precious Pledges of our Salvation; animating the Weak, confirming the more Couragious in their Faith;

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do not fear, said he to them, *him who can only exercise his weak Power upon the Body; but fear that Great God, who as he has deprived you of Life, can also punish your Soul with an eternal Death, and rather suffer all sorts of Torments, than forsake his holy Law.*

The *Mandarin* offended at the Boldness of the Physician, commanded him to be loaden with Chains, and having caused him to be dragged before his Tribunal, they prepared all things for his being cruelly Bastionado'd, when his Godson, who came running thither with other Christians, threw himself on his Knees at the Judge's Feet, and begged of him with Tears in his Eyes, that he would permit him to receive the Chastisement for his Godfather.

This zealous Physician, who aspired to nothing more than Martyrdom, was so far from giving his Place to another, that he constantly, and stedfastly forbid it; and at that time there arose such a Scuffle between them, that the Angels admired and that made the Christian Religion to be respected by the very Idolaters. The Judge stood amazed at it; and turning towards those eminent Confessors of Jesus Christ, *go your way*, saies he to them, *this forwardness to suffer the Punishment of your Faults, deserves some Indulgence; I pardon you, but henceforward, think of pleasing the Vice-roy, and be more careful to obey the Emperor's Orders.*

When the Spirit of God hath once seized on the Heart, Men's Words are not capable to touch them. This Zealous Physician, whom the sight of Execution had made more couragious, continu'd his Acts of Chatity as before, and his Zeal made such a Noise up and down, that the *Mandarin* durst no longer mince the Matter, he seemed much concerned at the Contempt he used of his Threatnings: Insomuch that he gave Order to his Officers to bring him out, to make a severe Example of him.

In effect, he cauſed him to be beat ſo cruelly in his Preſence, that thoſe who were preſent, were equally ſurpriſed at the Severity of the Judge, and Patience of this good Chriſtian. This bloody Execution once over, ſome of his Relations who came running at this doleful Spectacle, were thinking to carry him to his Houſe; but he poſitively deſired to be carried to Church, and what endeavours ſo ever they uſed to divert him from it, yet he had Strength enough left to crawl thither himſelf, born up by the Arms of ſeveral Chriſtians. He came thither all bathed in his Gore; and kneeling down at the Foot of the Altars, *O Lord*, ſaith he, *thou ſeeſt this Day, that I prefer thy holy Law to all the Sweetneſs of Life: I come not to demand Juſtice of thee for all the Blood thy Enemies have ſpilt; I come to offer thee that which remains of mine own; I do not deſerve to die for ſuch a good Cauſe; but thou, O my God, deſerveſt the intire Sacrifice of my Life:* and then turning towards Father *Intorcetta*, who began to comfort him: *Ah! Father*, anſwer'd he, *I ſhall be now at the height of my Joy, if it were not my Sins, but my Zeal that had brought this light Chaſtiſment upon me.*

This Example and many others, that I forbear to relate, made ſuch Impreſſions upon the Idolaters hearts, that a great many of them reſolved to embrace the Chriſtian Faith, being perſuaded that Sentiments ſo oppoſite to corrupt Nature, could not poſſibly proceed either from Paſſion or Error.

Among them whom the holy Spirit did effectually touch, were Three who appeared full of that very Faith, that made in former time almoſt as many Martyrs in the primitive Church as Believers; they were Young, handſome, of Quality, and what is more, engaged by their Condition blindly to comply with the Vice-roy's Inclinations. Nevertheleſs, counting their temporal Eſtate as nothing, they demanded publick Baptiſm. The

The Father to bring the Faith of these *Neophites* to the Test, hid nothing from them that might any wise stagger them; but it was all in vain to represent to them the rigour of the Edicts, the Vice-roy's Indignation, the Desolation they were like to cast their Families into, the Danger of losing their Estates, Honour, Life, and all these Considerations served only to animate them the more, so that after a pretty long Tryal, they were initiated into our sacred Mysteries, and took part as others did, in the Cross of Christ. Their Conversion fortified the Feeble-minded, and comforted Father *Intorcetta* for all the Evils that the Persecution had made his Church to suffer.

But the Vice roy was so much the more provoked, because he had not the Liberty at that time to shew his Resentment: for just then, they delivered him Two Letters from Prince *Sosan*, one of them was for Father *Intorcetta*, the other that was directed to himself, was full fraught with Reproaches, for that he seemed to make no account of the Prince's recommendation. *I could never have believed*, saith he to him, *that to please a Company of ill affected People, who have exasperated your Spirit at the Christians, you would have deviated from the Counsels I gave you. It is as a Friend that I endeavoured to inspire you with better Sentiments; think upon it once more, and reflect seriously with your self that it is I that speak to you. I expect three Things from your Friendship, First, that you deliver the Letter your self to Father* Intorcetta, *according to the Superscription The Second, that you do so well satisfie the Father, that he may have Occasion to bless himself for the kind Offices you render him, and that he himself may testifie the same to me: And the Third is, that henceforward you do not any longer disturb either Missionaries, or Christians: in short, I am extreamly sorry, for being obliged to write to you so often about this Subject. If you for the Future mend your Manners, I shall write to you a third Time to thank you, but if*

your Paſſion continues, this is the laſt Letter you ſhall ever receive from me.

Then did the Vice-roy repent him of his former Proceedings; yet was he ſo far engaged, that he thought he could not handſomely go back with any Honour. He found it eſpecially very hard to ſue to a Miſſionary for his Friendſhip, whom he but juſt now treated, and that publickly, with the utmoſt Diſdain; but yet dreading Prince *Soſan*'s reſentment, who was the moſt Powerful, and in moſt Credit, of all the Miniſters of the Empire: On one hand, he reſolved to ſtand to what he had done already againſt the Chriſtians, without driving matters any further, and on the other hand, to diſpatch one of his Officers to *Pekin*, to purge, and clear himſelf to the Prince.

In this interim, Father *Intorcetta* having a ſecret Item of the Letter that the Vice-roy had received, intimated to the Fathers at Court, the ſmall Effect they had produced; inſomuch that thoſe Fathers reſolved to ſignifie the ſame to the Emperor, in caſe Prince *Soſan* ſhould think it adviſable. Wherefore they related to him what had paſſed at *Hain-cheou*, the Obſtinacy of the Vice-roy, the Affliction of Father *Intorcetta*, the Danger wherein his Church was, the Ruin whereof would infallibly involve in it, the utter Ruin of all the Miſſions in the Empire. *Since all your Endeavours, My Lord,* added they, *ſeem Ineffectual; there appears nothing that can put a Stop to the Violence of this obſtinate* Mandarin, *but the Emperor's Authority; but we ſhould be wanting to our true Intereſts, (and what ſwaies the more with us) to the Acknowledgment that we are bound to give for your Favours; If we were ruled by any other Conſiderations than yours.*

The Prince already provoked by the Vice-roy's behaviour, was not ſorry at this Overture, and believed he had now found a fair Opportunity to revenge himſelf: So that theſe Fathers having recommended the Im-

Importance of their Affairs to God Almighty, wherein the solid Establishment, or utter Ruin of Religion was concerned; came to the Palace on the 21st of *December* 1691, and demanded Audience.

The Emperor sent some Eunuchs his Confidents to know what their Business was: The Father presently declared to them, the heinous Excess of the Vice-roy of *Ham cheou*, as well in respect of the Missionaries, as in respect of the Christians under his Government; they added moreover, that they had suffered a long time without Complaining, in expectation, that their Patience would pacifie his Spirit; but since the Mischief became every day greater and greater, without all hopes of Remedy, they came to prostrate themselves at the Emperor's feet, as to the usual *Asylum* of oppressed Innocence, most humbly to beseech him, to grant to their Brethren in the Provinces that happy Peace, they themselves enjoyed at *Pekin*, in the very Sight, and under the Protection of his Majesty.

The Emperor, to whom they reported this Discourse, had a mind to try the Fathers Constancy, and so return'd them no favourable Answer; but they never ceasing to represent the Unhappiness, this Indifference of the Prince was shortly like to bring them under. He sent new Eunuchs to acquaint them, that he was amazed to see them so infatuated with the Christian Religion; *is it possible*, he bid them tell them, 'that you are always busied about a World whither 'you are not yet come, and count *that* wherein you 'are at present, as nothing? believe me, Sirs, *there is* 'a time for all things; make better Improvement of 'what Heaven instructs you with, and defer all those 'Cares till you cease to live; Cares that are profita-'ble to none but the Dead: For my part, *said he, in a* 'drolling way, I do not concern my self self in the Bu-'siness of the other World, and I do not take upon

'me to determin upon the Cauſe of theſe inviſible 'Spirits.

Then the Fathers, oppreſt with grief, ſhedding a torrent of tears, proſtrated themſelves to the very ground; they conjured the Eunuchs to report to the Emperor the ſad Condition whereunto they were reduc'd: *This would he the firſt time,* ſaid they, *that this great Prince abandon'd innocent Perſons, and appear'd inſenſible of our Lamentation: Is it becauſe we are unprofitable Strangers that he deals thus with us? At leaſt, Gentlemen, pray tell him, that the great God of Heaven and Earth, whoſe Cauſe we maintain, for whom we fight, nay, and to whom he himſelf is beholden for all his Grandeur, well deſerves, that he ſhould exert all his Power to make him known, and his Juſtice in puniſhing thoſe who do him an injury in the perſon of his Miniſters.*

In fine, after all theſe Tryals, this gracious Prince, moved with compaſſion, could no longer diſſemble his real Sentiments, he therefore ſent to the Fathers (that were ſtill proſtrate before his Palace Gate) an Officer of his Bed Chamber, to acquaint them, 'That 'he did not allow of the Vice-Roy' of *Ham cheou*'s 'Proceedings, and that he was willing for their ſake, 'to put an end to his unjuſt Perſecution; and that 'in a word, there was two ways to accompliſh it: 'The firſt, to ſend to the Vice Roy a ſecret Order 'immediately, to give ſatisfaction for Miſchiefs paſt, 'that this way, tho' not ſo Exemplary, was the moſt 'eaſie and ſure. The ſecond, to preſent a Petition, 'and obtain from the Tribunals a favourable Decree 'for all the Miſſionaries, which would decide all Diffe-'rences. That they ſhould conſult amongſt them-'ſelves what would be moſt convenient in the preſent 'conjuncture; and when they had weighed the Rea-'ſons on both ſides, that they ſhould come back the 'next day to declare to him their poſitive Reſolu-'tion.

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The Fathers signified their most humble acknowledgments to the Emperor by customary prosternations, and returned full with great hopes of happy success, yet very uncertain what course to steer.

They consider'd on one hand the danger that there was to put their Cause into the hands of the *Lipou*, who always declared against the Christian Religion; that in all probability there needed no more to revive all the ancient Accusations, which Time seem'd to have consopiated: That the Missionaries settled in the Provinces, whom they had concealed from the Court till that time, would be obliged to quit *China*, or else forsake all their Missions: That at least, the Proceeding of those who had built new Churches, and Converted a great number of Idolaters against the expres prohibitions of Parliaments, was sufficient to warrant the Vice-Roy of *Ham-cheou*: That in fine, things may be brought to that pass by the subtil Devices of our Enemies, and secret Undertakings of the *Bonzes*, that they might be so far from quenching the Flame of a particular Persecution, as we suppose, that we should kindle a general Conflagration in the Empire, that would not terminate but in the total desolation of Christianity.

These Reasons, altho' very substantial and solid in themselves, were nevertheless balanced by the following Reflections. What Protection soever the Emperors might have given till that time to the Missionaries, yet they experienced, that it was not sufficient to oblige all the *Mandarins* of Provinces to countenance the Christians, and that there was a great number of them who (prejudiced against us either by that universal Contempt which the Education of *China* did usually create in them for Foreigners, or by the Calumnies of the *Bonzes*, or else by a false Zeal of the publick good) thought it was a piece of good service to destroy us, and spoil in a few days that which had been the work of several Years. These

Theſe particular Perſecutions were ſo much the more feared, as they adminiſtred occaſion to our ſecret Enemies, to declare themſelves openly againſt us, and to compoſe a ſtrong and great Party, which was commonly upheld by the Courts appointed for the ordering Rites and Ceremonies, who always waited for occaſions to ſtop the courſe of new Foreigners into the State. So that if in theſe critical conjunctures the Emperors, by a particular Providence, ſhould not have honoured us with their benovolence, Chriſtianity would have long ſince been deſtroy'd in *China*, and it may be the memory of it would have been totally obliterated.

We ſhould therefore conſider, that the Court perhaps would not be always ſo favourable to us, that there needed no more but one moment alone to loſe the Emperors gracious favour; or, what was ſtill more dangerous, to intail his Indignation upon us, and thoſe of our Religion, that in this fickle State wherein Religion was, the leaſt oppoſition from the *Mandarins* would ſuffice to ſet the Peoples hearts againſt it, that the Great ones themſelves durſt never declare, or be Converted, for fear of being one day reſponſible to the Parliaments for their Converſion, which probably in time might be made an heinous Crime.

On the contrary, if ſo be the Chriſtian Faith were once approved of by publick Edict, nothing afterward could diſturb its Eſtabliſhment, ſince it would be leſs odious to the Idolatrous People, becauſe the Chriſtians would make a publick profeſſion of it, and at laſt the new Miſſionaries would enter without interruption into the vaſt Field of the Goſpel, and would there ſow, without any contradiction, that ſacred Word, which would then produce an hundred fold.

The only hope of ſuch a great Benefit, determined the Fathers to try this laſt means; and ſo much the rather,

rather, because they believed they could not in future time meet with any occasion more favourable to accomplish it. The remembrance of signal Services Father *Verbiest* had rendered to the State, was still very recent; the Emperor had declared how sensible he was of the resolution that Father *Grimaldi* an *Italian*, had taken to cross the Seas again for his sake, and to undertake a most tedious Journey. Father *Thomas* a *Flemming*, was wholly taken up in Mathematicks, wherein he acquired the reputation of a Learned Knowing Man, and most Pious Missionary. Father *Pereira* a *Portuguese*, for his part, took a great deal of pains a long time in certain Instruments, and several Engines, that the Prince took great delight in: But that which did our business in getting his heart, was the Peace which Father *Gerbillon* had but just then concluded three hundred Leagues from *Pekin*, between the *Chinese* and *Muscovite*. Prince *Sofan*, nearly related to the Emperor, and Plenipotentiary, stood amazed at his Zeal, and publickly declared, that but for him this Negotiation would never have terminated to the advantage of the Empire. He spoke of it to the Emperor to that purpose; and at that very time he inspired him with sentiments of Esteem and Affection for this Father, which have continued ever since beyond whatsoever we were able to expect or hope for. Besides, this same Father, together with Father *Bovet*, both *French*, and of the number of those whom the King sent into *China* in 1685, apply'd themselves for many Years to teach Geometry and Philosophy to the Emperor, with such success, that he could never be weary in discoursing with them upon these Matters.

But because these zealous Missionaries were fully perswaded, that when Religion is concerned, human Assistances are very insignificant, if God Almighty do not secretly direct and order the whole Work. They

They began to implore the aſſiſtance of *him* whom nothing is able to reſiſt: They ſpread open their Wants before him, and diſcovered their hearts in his preſence, and told him with the ſame confidence that once animated *Judith*: *Make bare, make bare, O Lord, thy arm on our behalf, as thou didſt heretofore, and bring to nought the obſtacle our Enemies oppoſe againſt us: Let thoſe who have boaſted that they could deſtroy the Temple, who have already prophaned thy Altar, and trodden under foot the Tabernacle of thy holy Name; let them at preſent be ſenſible, that before thee all their force is nothing but vanity and weakneſs: Put into our mouths, Lord, that holy word, and repleniſh our hearts with thoſe wiſe Counſels that make Truth always to triumph; to the end thy Houſe that hath been ſo many years in a tottering condition, may at this day be immovably ſettled and confirmed; and that all Nations may in the end confeſs, that thou only art the true God, and that beſides thee, we ought to ſeek for none other* *.

* *Judith* chap. 9.

After this fervent Prayer they ſecretly preſented their Petition to the Emperor, that they were afterwards to offer to him in publick. He read it, but not finding therein what was the moſt capable to make impreſſion upon the Spirit of the *Chineſes*, (for they inſiſted upon what principally related to the Sanctity and Truth of Chriſtian Religion) he drew up another himſelf in the *Tartarian* Language, which he ſent back to the Fathers, yet leaving them to their liberty to retrench, or add thereto, as they ſhall judge moſt convenient.

Indeed, if one do but never ſo little reflect upon the particular Character of the Emperors of *China*, one cannot ſufficiently admire, that this preſent Emperor ſhould vouchſafe to deſcend from the loftieſt degree of Grandeur, which he obſerves every where elſe, nay even in reſpect of the greateſt Princes, to make

make himſelf familiar with pitiful Miſſionaries: For a Man to conſider after what manner he takes a particular Account of all their Affairs; how he ſpeaks to them, how he puts them in a way, would he not conclude that it is a private Man that manages the Concerns of his Friend? Yet nevertheleſs it is one of the greateſt Kings in the World, that is pleaſed thus to ſtickle to pleaſe a company of Strangers, even at the peril of the fundamental Laws of the Nation.

But after all, it is no wonder that a God, who to eſtabliſh his Religion humbled himſelf ſo far, as to make himſelf like to Men, does oblige ſometimes the greateſt Princes of the World to diveſt themſelves of their Majeſty and innate Pride, to co-operate and concur in this grand Work. For certainly, what care ſoever we may have taken to make this Prince favourable to us; yet muſt we needs herein principally acknowledge the Efficacy of Divine Grace. It is the Almighty voice of the Lord that alone can, to ſpeak in the Scripture expreſſion, *bruiſe the Cedars and ſhake the Mountains of the Wilderneſs*; that is to ſay, abaſe the Great ones of the World, and give to their heart what motion he pleaſes.

Whilſt all theſe things were tranſacted at *Pekin*, the Vice-Roy of *Ham-cheou*, that had now leiſure to make ſome reflections upon his Behaviour, was not peaceable in his Province. The Credit of Prince *Soſan* did grievouſly perplex him; and above all he dreaded his juſt reſentment: For to pacifie him, he thought it the wiſeſt courſe to ſend one of his Officers to him, under pretence to juſtifie himſelf to him, but in effect, to exaſperate the principal *Mandarins* of *Lipou* againſt the Miſſionaries, in caſe he ſhould find any overture to do it.

At that time this Officer arrived at Court, but Prince *Soſan* would not ſo much as hear him; and packing him away, briskly told him, that he much wondered

wondered that his Maſter made ſuch little account of Perſons whom the Emperor honoured with his affection, and employed and truſted in his ſervice.

As to what relates to their buſineſs, I am no more concerned in it, than the Emperor would himſelf. Theſe Fathers have implored his Protection, and he well underſtands how to do them Juſtice without my intermedling. Beſides, when I writ on their behalf, it was not ſo much to do them a kindneſs, as thereby to exhibit a token of Friendſhip to the Vice-Roy, in plucking him from the Precipice whither he had ſo indiſcreetly thrown himſelf.

This Anſwer did ſo ſtartle this Officer, that without ever dreaming of making any other progreſs, he returned to his Maſter at *Ham-cheou* to render an account of the ill ſucceſs of his Commiſſion. The Fathers who had notice of it, underſtood by that, that they were to loſe no time, and that they were ſpeedily to improve the good diſpoſition of Prince *Soſan*. So that upon *Candlemas day* they went to the Palace, and offer'd to the Emperor with the uſual Ceremonies, the Petition that he himſelf had compoſed, of which ſee here the Tranſlation.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE expoſe to you, with the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion, and moſt profound reſpect that we are capable of, the beginning, end, inducements and motives of our moſt humble Requeſt, being confident that you will vouchſafe to hear it with the ſame prudence that attends all your Actions, and with that Benevolence wherewith you have been graciouſly pleas'd to honour us.

On the ninth Month of the Moon, Father Intorcetta, *one of your Majeſty's Subjects, whoſe abode is in the City of* Ham-cheou, *did acquaint us that the Vice-Roy had ſtrictly charged the Mandarins of his Province to pull down all the Temples of the Chriſtians, to burn the Printing Tables, upon which is engraven all the Books of our Religion.*

Religion. Moreover, he hath publickly declared, that our Doctrine is false and dangerous, and consequently not to be tolerated in the Empire, and hath added several other things most disadvantageous to us.

Upon this News, Sir, seized with horror, and penetrated with grief, we thought our selves obliged to have recourse to your Majesty, as the common Father of the afflicted, to lay before you the deplorable Condition whereunto we are reduced; for except you grant us your Protection, it is altogether impossible to avoid the Stratagems of our Enemies, and to ward the Blow wherewith they threaten us.

That which administers comfort to us, Sir, when we appear at your Majesty's Feet, is to see with what Wisdom you influence and move all the parts of your Empire, as if it were the Body, of which you are the Soul; and with what unconcernment and impartiality you regulate the Interest of each private Man, without acceptation of Persons. Insomuch that you could not be at rest if you knew but one single Subject oppress by Injustice, or but even deprived of that rank and recompence he deserves.

You surpass, Great Sir, the Mightiest Kings amongst your Predecessors, who have in their time permitted false Religions in China; *for you do intirely love Truth, and do not approve of Falshood. For this reason it is, that in taking your Progress to view your Provinces, you have given a thousand testimonies of your Royal affection to the* European *Missionaries that were in your Road; as if you meant thereby to testifie, that you value their Doctrine; and that you would be very glad that they would settle in your States. What we deliver here is publick, and generally known to the whole Empire.*

Therefore when we behold the Vice-Roy of Hamcheou *to stile the Christian Religion, the false and dangerous Religion, when we are informed that he uses all his endeavours to destroy it; how are we able to stifle our*

just

juſt ſorrow, and forbear to declare to your Majeſty what we ſuffer?

This is not the firſt time, Sir, that they have perſecuted us without any reaſon; therefore Father Adam Schaal *your Subject, on whom your Predeceſſors heap'd many extraordinary favours, made it known to all the Court, that the Rules of the Celeſtial Motions eſtabliſhed by the antient Aſtronomers of* China, *were all falſe, he propoſed others, that did perfectly agree with the Conſtellations, they were approved, and made uſe of with no ſmall ſucceſs; ſo that this Change brought Order again into the Empire. Your Majeſty is not ignorant of what paſt at that time in* Pekin, *we may, I hope, have leave to remember how Matters ſtood there, ſince they are ſo many ſingular favours we there received: Yet upon the account of exploding and aboliſhing of theſe Errors, how much did the Father afterwards ſuffer by Calumnies of his Enemies?* Yam-quam ſien *and thoſe of his Faction, falſly accuſed him of ſeveral Crimes, under pretence of Novelty, as if this new Aſtronomy had not agreed with Heaven, he died, not being able at that time to juſtifie himſelf; but your Majeſty put Father* Verbieſt *in his place, and heaped on him ſo many favours, that the life of this Father was too ſhort, and his words too faint to demonſtrate to all the World the greatneſs of his acknowledgments. Yet did he deeply reſent all theſe benefits, and it was on purpoſe not to be ingrateful; that he was buſied for above twenty years in compoſing all ſorts of Books for the publick benefit, both in Aſtronomy, Arithmetick, Muſick, and Philoſophy, that are ſtill extant in the Palace, together with divers others which he has not time to compleat and finiſh.*

But ſince your Majeſty is perfectly inſtructed in all theſe particulars, we dare not preſume to tire out your patience by a longer diſcourſe. We do only humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, that all this is not ſufficient to entitle us to the Peoples affection for us, and confidence in us.

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If, as they accuse us, the Law that we preach be false and dangerous, how can we, Sir, justifie the Conduct of Princes, who have honoured us with their esteem?

Nevertheless not to mention any thing of your Predecessors, your Majesty your self hath made so sure of our Loyalty, that you order'd Father Verbiest *to found some Cannon of a new Model, to put an end to a dangerous War: You made Father* Grimaldi *cross the vast Ocean to go into* Muscovy *with the Letters and Seals of the High Court of the Militia; you sent the Fathers* Gerbillon *and* Pereira, *upon very important Affairs, to the very furthest parts of* Tartary. *Nevertheless your Majesty well knows, that those who are governed by the Principles of a false Religion, never use to serve their Prince faithfully; they almost ever abandon themselves to their own Passions, and never aim at any thing but their own particular interest.*

If therefore we do exactly discharge our duty, and if to this very day we have always sought the publick good, it is most manifest this Zeal proceeds from an heart well affected, full of esteem, and veneration, and (if we may be bold to say so) of a singular affection for the Person of your Majesty: On the contrary, if this heart once cease to submit to you, it would be from that very time, contrary to right Reason, good Sense, and all sentiments of Humanity.

This being supposed, Sir, we humbly beseech you to consider, that after the fatigues of a tedious Voyage, we are at length arrived in your Empire, exempt from that Spirit of Ambition and Covetousness, that commonly bring other Men thither, but with an ardent desire to preach to your People the only true Religion.

And truly when we appeared here the first time, we were entertain'd with abundance of marks of distinction, as we have often said already, and which we cannot repeat too often. In the tenth Year of Chun-tchi *they prefer'd us to the sole direction of the Mathematicks. In*

the fourteenth Year of the ſame Reign they gave us leave to build a Church at Pekin, *and the Emperor himſelf was willing to grant us a particular place for the burial of our Dead. In the twenty ſeventh Year of your Majeſty's glorious Reign, your Majeſty honoured the Memory of Father* Verbieſt *not only by new Titles, but alſo by the care you took to cauſe the laſt Offices to be perform'd to him, with an almoſt Royal Pomp and Magnificence. Some while after you appointed an Apartment and Maſters to the new French Miſſionaries, to facilitate their learning of the* Tartarian *Tongue. In a word, you ſeem'd ſo well ſatisfied with their deportment, that you cauſed the Services they had rendered to the State by their Voyages into* Tartary, *and Negotiation with the* Muſcovites *to be inſerted in the Records of the Nation: What a happineſs, Sir, and a glory is it for us to be judged capable of ſerving ſo great a Prince!*

Since therefore your Majeſty, who does ſo wiſely govern this grand Monarchy, vouchſafeth to employ us, and put ſuch confidence in us, how is it poſſible there ſhould be one ſingle Mandarin ſo irrational to refuſe one of our Brethren permiſſion to live in his Province? Verily, Sir, one cannot ſufficiently deplore the hard Fate of that good old Man, who in a little corner of the Earth, humbly requires ſo much ſpace as is neceſſary peaceably to ſpend the remainder of his daies, which yet he cannot obtain.

It is for this reaſon, Sir, that all of us, your Majeſty's moſt humble Subjects, who are here like forſaken Orphans, that would injure no body, nay, who endeavour to avoid Law-Suits, Quarrels, Wranglings, and the leaſt Conteſtations; It is for this reaſon (we ſay) that we beſeech you to take our Cauſe in hand, with thoſe ſentiments of Equity that are ſo eſſential to you; have ſome Compaſſion, Sir, upon Perſons who have committed no Fault; and if your Majeſty, after being fully informed of our Carriage, does really find that we are Innocent, we beſeech you to let all the Empire underſtand by a publick Edict,

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the judgment you entertain of our Morals and Doctrine. It is for the obtaining this Favour, that we aſſume the liberty of preſenting to you this Requeſt. In the mean time all, and every your Subjects the Miſſionaries, will expect with fear, and intire ſubmiſſion, what you ſhall be pleaſed to appoint touching the Premiſes. In the thirtieth Year of the Reign of Chamhi, *the 16th. day of the 12th. Month of the Moon.*

The Emperor graciouſly received this Petition, and ſent the 18th. of the ſame Month to the Court of *Rites*, with an Order to examine it, and with the firſt opportunity to make report of it to him; but becauſe there is vacation in all the Courts of Judicature in *China* much about the ſame time, until the 15th. of the firſt Month of the Year following, the *Lipou* could not Anſwer till the 18th. of the ſaid Month: Upon the whole, their Judgment was much contrary to the Emperors Intentions, and Intereſt of the Miſſionaries. For the *Mandarins* having reported at large the antient Edicts enacted againſt the Chriſtian Religion, concluded that this buſineſs required no farther diſcuſſion, and that they were to ſtick cloſe to the firſt Orders of Parliaments, and of the Court, which prohibited upon grievous Penalties, the natural born Subjects to entertain the new Doctrine of the *Europeans*; that, notwithſtanding they deem'd it convenient to preſerve the Church in the City of *Hamcheou*, and to give order to the *Mandarins* of that Province, not to confound the Chriſtian Religion with the ſeditious Sects of *China*.

The Emperor was in a manner as much concerned as the Miſſionaries at this new Decree: when they preſented it to him, he diſcovered ſome trouble at it, and left it for ſeveral days in his Cloſet, without declaring himſelf, to the end that the *Mandarins* of *Lipou* having notice of it, might have time to come

back; but when he ſaw their Obſtinacy, he was not willing to make turbulent Spirits to Rebel, and reſolved at laſt, tho' ſore againſt his Will, to Sign it.

This News threw the Fathers into a great Conſternation; and one *Chao* a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, whom the Emperor ſent to comfort them, found them in a condition worthy of compaſſion. He was troubled at it himſelf (for he loves us dearly, and hath done us upon ſeveral occaſions moſt ſignal Services.) This Officer endeavour'd, as he had order, to moderate their Affliction; but whether it was that theſe Fathers were not Maſters of themſelves, or that they had quite given over all thoughts of keeping any further correſpondence with a Prince that had deſerted them, they utter'd upon this occaſion whatſoever the moſt ſenſible grief is able to inſpire into afflicted Perſons.

What ſignifie, my Lord, ſay they, all the Favours it hath hitherto pleaſed the Emperor to do us, ſince at this conjuncture himſelf makes them unprofitable? Was it to tumble us down in a more illuſtrious manner, that he apply'd himſelf ſo long time to exalt us? What delight will he take hereafter to ſee us, covered with ſhame and confuſion, to ſerve for a laughing-ſtock to our Enemies, and be a Spectacle to the whole Empire? Will that Prince who loved us ſo dearly, will he be able hereafter, without being moved at it, to hear that the Rabble inſult over us? That his petty Officers make us to be beaten in open Courts? That Vice-Roys baniſh us from their Provinces, that they exile us ſhamefully from his Empire?

We lay out our ſelves for him, our Cares, Studies, and all our Watchings are given to him. One part of our Brethren are already dead by their Labours, others have impair'd their Health by the ſame; and we, who are ſtill alive, enforced by the ſame deſire of pleaſing him, willingly and freely ſacrifice all the precious moments of our Life to him.

We

We hoped to merit by this Zeal, that he would at length approve of the Religion which we preach to his People, (for why ſhould we diſſemble the matter to you, to you who have ſo long known the real ſentiments of our hearts) that was, you know, the only motive of all our Undertakings: How Powerful, how Magnificent ſoever this Prince may be, we ſhould never have had the leaſt thoughts of coming ſo far to ſerve him, if the Intereſt of our moſt Holy Faith had not engaged us therein. Nevertheleſs he proſcribes it at this day, and Signs with his own Hand the ſhameful Decree of our Condemnation. There you ſee, my Lord, what all our hopes come to; there is the fruit of all our Labours: with how much greater calmneſs would we have received the ſentence of Death, than an Edict of this nature? For, do not imagin that we are able to ſurvive the loſs of Chriſtianity.

This Diſcourſe, attended with a great deal of trouble, and a torrent of Tears, made great impreſſion upon the Officers ſpirit; he went immediately to report it to the Emperor, and deſcribed to him the Fathers ſorrow in ſuch lively colours, that this good Prince gave way to ſome emotion. *I have always*, ſaid he, *ſought out all occaſions to do them a kindneſs, but the* Chineſe *have traverſed all my good deſigns, I could not at this time forbear following the ſtream; but in ſhort, however the caſe ſtands, they may make account that I love them, and that I ſhall not forſake them.*

In effect, he began more than ever to employ them in his Service; but yet, he no longer found the ſame eagerneſs in the execution of his Orders, nor the ſame ſereneneſs and alacrity upon their countenances. They always appeared before him dejected, mournful, and as if their Heads had been out of order by the ſhrewd blow they lately received. However, he was ſo far from being diſheartened, that he propoſed to them to ſend for a Doctor of Phyſick to Court, who was

newly arrived at *Macao*, who that he might be the more ſerviceable to the Miſſions had turned Prieſt of our Company.

The Fathers made anſwer that this Doctor had wiſh'd, and that two with a great deal of Paſſion, to employ his Skill, and all the Arcana of his Art to preſerve ſuch a precious Health, as *that* of his Majeſty, but being amazed at the Decree that had paſt againſt the Chriſtians, he was quite off from any deſign to come into *China*, and that he was preparing to return into *Europe*: that, nevertheleſs, ſince his Majeſty ordered it ſhould be ſo they would write with all expedition to *Macao* to have him come. Whilſt the Miſſionaries were over Head and Ears in their melancholly, the Vice-Roy of *Ham-cheou* triumphed at his firſt ſucceſs, and caſt about how to take new meaſures to finiſh his Work. He ſet all the Commiſſioners of the Offices at work for ſeveral days, to draw out Copies of the new Decree, to have them diſperſt throughout all the Provinces; at laſt he iſſued out more ſevere Orders againſt the Chriſtians than the former. In fine, not longer doubting of the Victory, he ſent to the Emperor an ample requeſt againſt the Miſſionaries to accompliſh their undoing; but this requeſt came a little too late: and when it was preſented the Face of Affairs was already altered.

For Prince *Soſan* not being able to withſtand the Solicitations of the Fathers, and eſpecially of Father *Gerbillon*, whoſe particular Friend he was, reſolved to Solicite afreſh on our behalf, wherefore he went and found the Emperor, and repreſented to him whatſoever the moſt Zealous Chriſtian could poſſibly have ſpoken on the like occaſion:

He ſet before him again, the Zeal and Devotion of the Fathers in whatſoever reſpected his Perſon, the Services they had rendered the State during the Wars, their being intent to perfect the Sciences, and

to

to rectifie the Kalendar. *In a word, Sir,* said he, *they are a sort of People that make no account of their lives, when serving or pleasing you is in question. 'Tis true, all this could not deserve that your Majesty should approve of their Faith, if it be otherwise dangerous; but was there ever a more wholsome Doctrine than theirs, or more beneficial to the Government of a People?*

The Emperor who joyfully heard this Discourse, yet for all that persisted in his former determination, *It is done now,* said he to him, *I should have done my self a Kindness to have favoured these honest Missionaries; but the outragious carriage of the Mandarins against them, did not permit to follow mine own inclination.*

'How, Sir, replied the Prince, *are not you the Master? And when the business was to do Justice to Subjects, so eminent as these are, could not you interpose your Authority? I will go my self, if your Majesty thinks fit, to these Gentlemen, and I am not without hopes of bringing them to terms.* At last the Emperor, not being any longer able to hold it out against so pressing solicitations; causes a Letter immediately to be dispatched to the *Calaos*, their Assessors, and to all the *Tartarian* Mandarins of *Lipou*; and this is the purport of the Letter.

The thirty first year of the Reign of Cham-hi, *the second day of the second month of the Moon.* Yi-sam-ho, *Minister of State, declares to you the Will and Pleasure of the Emperor in these terms.*

The Europeans *in my Court have for a long time been Directors of the Mathematicks. During the Civil-Wars they have rendered me most effectual service, by means of some Cannon that they got cast: their Prudence and singular Address, accompanied with much Zeal, and indefatigable Toil, obliges me once more to consider them. And besides that, their Law is not Seditious, and does not induce People to Revolt, so that it seems good to us to permit it, to the end that all those who are willing to em-*

brace it may freely go into the Churches, and make publick Profeſſion of the Worſhip there performed to the Supreme Lord of Heaven.

Our Will and Pleaſure therefore is, that all and ſeveral the Edicts that hitherto have been publiſhed againſt it, by and with the Advice and Counſel of our Tribunals, be at preſent torn and burnt. You Miniſters of State, and you Tartarian *Mandarins of the Sovereign Court of Rites, aſſemble together, examine the matter, and give me your Advice upon the whole with all ſpeed.*

Prince *Soſan* himſelf was preſent at this Aſſembly according as he and the Emperor had agreed; and albeit he was no Chriſtian, yet did he ſpeak after ſuch a pathetical and taking manner in favour of us, that he ſeemed rather to defend his own, or the States Cauſe, than the concerns of a Foreign Religion, theſe are his own words, without adding one Syllable, as they are found in the Original, which I faithfully tranſlate.

'You know, Gentlemen, with what Application, 'what Zeal, and Loyalty theſe *Europeans* buſie them-'ſelves in the Service of his Majeſty. The greateſt 'Men amongſt us, tho' concerned to preſerve and 'maintain our Conqueſts, have rather devoted them-'ſelves to Glory, Riches, and making their own For-'tunes, than to the ſettling the State upon a ſound 'bottom; very few of them do purely aim at the 'Publick good. Theſe Strangers, on the other hand, 'exempt from all Paſſion, love the Empire more than 'we do our ſelves, and do frankly Sacrifice their own 'repoſe to the tranquility of our Provinces.

'We have experienced the ſame during the whole 'courſe of our Civil-Wars, and in the late bickerings 'we had with the *Moſcovite*, for to whom do you ſup-'poſe us obliged for the happy ſucceſs of that Nego-'tiation? It would without all queſtion be conſiſtent 'with my Intereſt, to aſcribe all the glory of it to 'my ſelf. I who have been the Plenipotentiary for

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'the Peace; but if I were so unjust as to do my self 'that honour, to the prejudice of these Fathers, the 'Chieftains of the Enemies Troops, all mine own 'Officers, my own Army would say I told an untruth.

'It is, Gentlemen, these Fathers who by their 'Prudence, and insight into Affairs, and the just 'temper and moderation that they brought, put an 'end to that important affair. Without their Coun-'sel, we should have been forced to exact at the ex-'pense of our blood, the Rights which the injustice 'of our Enemies did so obstinately refuse to the Em-'peror; or perhaps you would have had the trouble 'to see us wholly divested of them, or at least I 'should have been no longer in a condition to de-'fend them.

'What have we done, Gentlemen, in return for 'such eminent Service? Nay, what can we do for 'a company of Men who demand neither Riches, 'nor Places of Trust, nor Honours? Who esteem 'and respect us, without so much as caring whether 'we do so by them? Certainly we ought to be con-'cerned, if it were not in our power some way or 'other to oblige Strangers, who do so generously Sa-'crifice themselves for us; and I am inclin'd to be-'lieve, Gentlemen, that when you have made refle-'ction thereon, you will give me thanks for having 'discovered to you the only way whereby they can 'become sensible of our acknowledgement.

'They have a Law, which is to them instead of all 'the riches in the World. They Adore a Deity, who 'alone makes up all their Comfort and Happiness. 'Suffer them only freely to enjoy the benefit they pos-'sess, and permit them to Communicate it to our 'People; altho' in that very thing they rather do us a 'kindness, than we do them: yet they will be grate-'ful to us, and accept it from our hands as the recom-'pence of all their Services.

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'The *Lamas* of *Tartary*, and the *Bonzes* of *China* 'are not troubled in the Exerciſe of their Religion. 'Nay the very *Mahumetans* have rear'd a Moſque at '*Ham-cheou*, that Domineers over all our Publick Edi-'fices. They oppoſe no Banks to theſe Torrents that 'threaten inundation to all *China*, Men Connive, 'they approve in ſome meaſure all theſe unprofitable 'and dangerous Sects; and now when the *Europeans* 'ſue to us for liberty to Preach up a Doctrine, that 'contains no other than Maxims of the moſt refined 'Vertue, we do not only repulſe them with diſdain, 'but think we do good Service to Condemn them: 'juſt as if the Laws that obliges us to ſhut up the En-'trance into our Empire againſt Superſtition, and 'lying Vanities, had likewiſe proſcribed naked Truth.

The Prince expatiating much upon this Point, was interrupted by the Heads of the Aſſembly, who re-monſtrated to him; that, ſay what he could, there was ſtill ſome danger leſt this new Sect might occa-ſion ſome diſorder in proceſs of time. And that it was the part of good Policy to ſtifle theſe little Mon-ſters of Rebellion and Diſcord, in their very Birth. That, in ſhort, they were Foreigners, whoſe Spirit and ſecret Deſigns were capable of adminiſtring ſome ſuſpicion.

'What Suſpicion, reply'd the Prince? I have been '*Colao* this ten years, and I never heard any Com-'plaint againſt the Chriſtians. Believe me, Gentle-'men, it were to be wiſh'd that the whole Empire 'would embrace their Religion. For, is it not that 'Religion that Commands Children to honor and 'obey their Parents? Subjects to be faithful to their 'Superiors, Servants exactly to perform the Will of 'their Maſters. That forbids to Kill, to Steal, and 'to Cozen; not to Covet any thing that is your 'Neighbours. That abhors Perjury and Calumny. 'That diſlikes Lying and Falſhood. That inſpires 'Modeſty

'Modesty, Simplicity, Uprightness and Temperance. 'Examin, Gentlemen, and sound, if possible, the 'Heart of Man; if there you find one single Vice 'which the Christian Law does not forbid, or one Ver- 'tue that it does not enjoyn, and counsel; I leave you 'to your liberty to declare against it. But now, if all 'things in it be Holy and Consonant to Reason, why 'do you still boggle to approve of it?

After that the Prince seeing their minds to be wavering, proposed the Ten Commandments of our Religion, and explained them with so much Eloquence, that the Mandarins looking one upon another, finding nothing to offer against it, did ingeniously confess that one might Conform to this New Doctrine without any danger. The Emperor informed of what was debated; was pleased (for to render the Action more famous) to have also all the Ministers of State to be convoked together, with the Mandarins of *Lipou*, who were *Chinese*, to whom they made known beforehand the Resolution of the *Tartarian* Mandarins.

In this general Assembly they repeated all that was spoken in the private Assembly, and after Prince *Sojan* had left no stone unturned to recover the *Chinese* from their old prejudice, they came at length to this result, that a Law should be enacted favourable to the Christians, which was drawn up in form of a Petition, to be presented to the Emperor to obtain his confirmation of it, it was to this effect.

Heoupatai, *Subject to your Majesty, President of the Sovereign Tribunal of Rites, and chief of several other Orders, presents to you this most humble Petition with all the submission, and respect which he and all his Assessors ought to have for all your Commands, especially when you do us the honour to require our Advice about the important Affairs of State.*

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We have ſeriouſly examined what any way relates to the Europeans, *who attracted from the extremities of the World by the fame of your ſingular Prudence, and other your eminent qualities, have paſt that vaſt extent of Seas which ſeperates us from* Europe. *Since they have lived amongſt us they have merited our eſteem and acknowledgment, by the ſignal Services they have rendered us in the Civil and Foreign Wars; by their continual application to Compoſing of Books very curious and profitable; for their uprightneſs and ſincere affection for the Commonweal.*

Beſides which, theſe ſame Europeans *are very peaceable they do not excite any Commotions, or foment Differences in theſe our Provinces, they do wrong to no Man, they commit no notorious Facts; moreover their Doctrine hath no Affinity with the falſe and dangerous Sects that infeſt the Empire, neither do their Maxims incline turbulent ſpirits to Sedition.*

Since therefore we do neither hinder the Lamas *of* Tartary, *nor* Bonzes *of* China *from having Temples, nor from offering Incenſe therein to their Pagodes; much leſs can we with any reaſon reſtrain the* Europeans, *(who neither act nor teach any thing contrary to the wholſome Laws) from having likewiſe their reſpective Churches, there to Preach their Religion in publick. Certainly theſe two things would be point blank contrary to one another, and we ſhould manifeſtly ſeem to contradict our ſelves.*

We therefore judge it meet and expedient that all the Temples Dedicated to the Lord of Heaven in what place ſoever they may be, ought to be preſerved, and that we may ſafely permit all thoſe who would honour this God, to enter into his Temples, to offer Incenſe to him, and to pay that Worſhip to him that hath hitherto been practiſed by the Chriſtians according to their ancient Cuſtom; ſo that none may for the time to come preſume to oppoſe the ſame.

In the mean time we ſhall expect your Majeſty's Orders thereupon, to the end we may Communicate them to the Governours and Vice-Roys, as well at Pekin *as at other Cities of the Provinces. Done in the thirty firſt year of the*

the Reign of Cham-hi, *the third day of the second month of the Moon. Signed, the President of the Sovereign Tribunal of Rites, with his Assessors; and underneath the four Ministers of State, called* Colaos, *with their general Officers and Mandarins of the first Order.*

The Emperor received this Decree with unexpressible joy, he ratified it forthwith, and dispatch'd a Copy of it to the Fathers sealed with the Seal of the Empire, to be, says he, perpetually preserved in the *Archives* of their House. Some time after he caused it to be published throughout the whole Empire: and the Supreme Tribunal of Rites, sending it to the Principal Officers, added these insuing words. *Wherefore, you Vice-Roys of Provinces be sure you receive this Imperial Edict with a most profound respect; and as soon as it comes to your hands read it attentively, value it, and see you fail not to execute it punctually, conformable to the example that we have given you our selves. Moreover, cause Copies of it to be taken, to be dispersed into all the places of our Government, and acquaint us of what you shall do in this Point.*

So soon as Father *Intorcetta* had notice of what had past at *Pekin*, he departed for Court, and went to throw himself at the Emperors Feet, to render him most humble thanks in his own, and in the name of all the Missionaries of *China*. This good Prince when he had bestowed on him many demonstrations of Affection, caused him to be conducted back again into his Province by Father *Thomas* Mandarin of the Mathematicks. He made his entrance into his City of *Ham-cheou* in Triumph, surrounded by Christians, and received by their Acclamation, who look'd upon him as an Angel of Peace.

Nevertheless, as God mixes always some Bitterness with our Comforts, the joy this good Father had conceived, was soon overcast, and allay'd by the utter ruin of his Church, involved sometime before in a publick

publick Conflagration, wherewith the beſt part of the City was conſumed.

This Accident gave occaſion to Father *Thomas* to deſire the Vice-Roy to build a new Church for the Father, and he himſelf gave him to underſtand that the Emperor expected it from him. This Mandarin was intolerably vex'd at the ill ſucceſs of his Enterpriſe, which the late arrival of the Father increas'd; but he was quite beſides himſelf, to think he muſt be forced to lodge a Stranger honourably in his Capital City, whom he would with all his Heart have baniſh'd ſome days before from his Province; yet he diſſembled the matter like a wiſe Man, and to comply with the time, he afforded the Miſſionary one of the fineſt Houſes in the City, till ſuch time, as at his own charges, he ſhould have rebuilt the antient College.

It was not at *Ham cheou* alone, that the Chriſtian Religion ſeem'd to Triumph; all the Churches of the Empire, which the new Edict, in ſome reſpect, drew out of Captivity, by granting to the People liberty of Conſcience, gave great demonſtrations of joy; but the City of *Macao*, that ſerved for a Cradle to the Infant Chriſtianity, made its joy to appear by a ſolemn Holy-day, which was accompanied with all the tokens of publick mirth and chearfulneſs, which the Peoples Devotion rendred much more ſolemn.

Thoſe who ſhall conſider the Conſtitution of the Government of *China*, the almoſt inſurmountable difficulties that Strangers have met with in ſcrewing themſelves into it; the averſion of Mens minds from novelty in Matters of Religion; and on the other hand the ſmall company of Miſſionaries *Europe* hath ſupply'd us with. The Civil Wars, and Revolutions that have ſo often diſcompoſed the State in this latter Age, will ſeriouſly confeſs, that this Occurrence, one of the moſt memorable that probably hath happened ſince the Infancy of the Church, cannot be the pro-

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duct of human wisdom. * *Deus autem Rex noster ante sæcula operatus est salutem in medio terræ; Tu confirmâsti in virtute tua mare —— Tu confregisti capita draconis — tuus est dies & tua est nox.* It is our God, 'tis our everlasting King who hath wrought Salvation in this vast Kingdom, which they call the middle of the Earth. He it is who hath for ever brought a Calm upon this Sea, so much agitated, and infamous hitherto for so many Shipwrecks. Thou hast, O Lord, bruised the head of that proud † Dragon whose Name was so dreadful. It is now then that the Day and the Night, that is to say, the East and the West belong to thee; forasmuch as both Worlds have at last submitted to thy Empire.

* *Psal.* 73.

† *The Dragon is the Emperors Arms, and is adored in* China.

At such time as I had the honour to present to the most holy Father, that Idolatry in the East, attacked on all sides by the Ministers of Gospel, was just upon the Point of falling; and that if once *China* could be drawn in to declare itself in favour of us, all the People adjacent, lead by their example, would quickly break their Idols in pieces, and would not be long before they submitted to the Yoak of the Christian Faith; this thought alone transported this holy Pontif with joy, and revived that sincere Piety, and fervent Zeal in his Heart, that he shews upon all occasions for the Salvation of Souls; but he told me that such a great change as that was no ordinary Miracle.

What Sentiments will he have, my Lord, when he understands that, what (as things then stood) he scarce durst hope for, are now at last accomplish'd for the glory of his Pontificate, and universal benefit of Christendom. We know moreover, that since this famous Edict, the *Chinese* run in crowds to be baptised: that the Mandarins, still Idolaters, build Churches to the only True God. That a Prince of the Blood hath abjured

jured his Errors, and embraced the Faith and Croſs of JESUS CHRIST. That the Emperor himſelf cauſeth a Church to be erected in his Palace, and lodges the Miniſters of the Goſpel near his own Perſon.

Theſe happy preparations will, without all queſtion, oblige the holy Father to employ all his cares to the entire compleating of ſo great a Work; to that effect we demand of him Paſtors formed by his own Hand, and repleniſhed with his Spirit: Miſſionaries altogether unbyaſſed, learned, ſelf-denying, that joyn Prudence with Evangelical Simplicity; who may ſeek the glory of Chriſt, and that of the Nation, rather than their own.

Laſt of all, we heartily wiſh that all Chriſtian Kingdoms, out of Emulation one of another, may ſtrive (under the Popes Authority) who ſhall ſtill ſend moſt Miniſters into theſe vaſt Countries, to ſhare with us in our Labours, and extend our Conqueſts. Nay, tho' the moſt populous Univerſities, and moſt famous Seminaries ſhould be tranſplanted thither, it would yet be but few. Yea, and with all theſe aſſiſtances, we ſhould notwithſtanding, to ſpeak in Scripture Language, groan under the burthen, and heat of the day. What would become of us if we leave this new born World to a ſmall number of Labourers, whom the Piety of ſome do there maintain?

It is to beg this favour, that I aſſume the boldneſs, my Lord, to intruſt you at this time with the concerns of the Miſſions. I am well aſſured that you never undertook any buſineſs of Conſequence for the good of Chriſtendom, but you accompliſh'd it. Now, altho' this that I propoſe to you were ten times more difficult than it is indeed, I am, in a manner, ſure of ſucceſs, as ſoon as ever you ſhall pleaſe to take it upon you.

Yet notwithstanding, my Lord, to succeed happily in this business; it is not necessary to exert, and put in practice all those qualities of mind, that make you almost ever superior to great Enterprises. That consummate Wisdom, that conducts you through the most sure Roads. That continual intention of mind, which the hardest Labour cannot interrupt. That dextrous insinuating Conduct, so impenetrable to the quickest Eye. In a Word, that Art, so peculiar to you, of persuading, and obtaining what you please. All this is not requisite to the business in hand, you need do no more here but abandon your self to your own Zeal, and use that lively, and natural Eloquence that animates your Discourses, every time you are pleased, in the Sacred College, to stand up for the Interest of Religion, or when you represent to Christ's Vicar the Urgent necessities of the Church.

Your Care, your Piety, my Lord, will be seconded with as many Apostles as you shall procure Missionaries for us: then, will, the Idolaters newly Converted, and Believers establish'd and settled in Faith, be equally sensible of the great benefits that you shall procure them, and the People enlightned by these Divine Lights, which the Holy See shall disperse as far as the extremity of the Earth, will all their lives long bless the Paternal Charity of the Vicar of Christ, and ardent Zeal of his Ministers. I am in the most profound respect

My Lord,

Your Eminence's most humble

and most obedient Servant.

L. J.

A Letter to Monſieur, the Abbot Bignon.

A General Idea of the Obſervations we have made in the Indies, *and in* China.

SIR,

ALtho, you ſhould not be at the Head of the moſt Ingenious Learned Men in *Europe*, by the Rank you hold in the *Academy Royal*, yet the Paſſion I have always had, to give you ſome Marks of my Eſteem, and to improve by your Knowledge, would engage me to communicate to you, what we have performed in the *Indies*, as to the perfection of Sciences.

It is, Sir, for the Credit of this Illuſtrious Academy (with which, we have ſuch a ſtrict Friendſhip, and Correſpondence) that a Perſon of your Merit, ſhould ſeem to have any Eſteem for the Perſons it employs in it's Function; and I ſuppoſe, the Protection you are pleaſed to afford us in the World, will be taken kindly by them; but it is yet more our particular Intereſt, that you would ſeverely, and ſtrictly examin our Works, and that when you have implored the Eſteem of the Publick on our behalf, you would by an impartial, and learned Criticizing, take ſome Pains to perfect us, and make us one Day worthy of its Approbation, and your own.

It is not, Sir, that I have a mind in this Place, to explain to you in particular, all that we have performed,

formed, to acquire a more exact Knowledg for the Future, of the Motion of the Stars, or to deliver Memoires to those who design to penetrate farther into the secret Mysteries of Nature. This Work, which is of too large an Extent, to be comprised within the Compass of a single Letter, will serve for the Subject of an intire Volume, which we hope shortly to have the honour to present to you.

My Design at present, is only to give you a general *Idea* of it, to the end, that understanding before hand the Road we have hitherto kept, you may the better judge what is needful to be added, to make us Exact, or to be altered, as to our Method.

When we departed from *Paris*, with the Instructions of the King, of his Ministers of State, and of the *Academy Royal*, we proposed to our selves, nothing less than the perfection of natural Sciences; but this Project containing in it a great diversity of Matters, we supposed it convenient for every one to take his Part, not only because each of us had not leisure enough to plie so many different Studies all at once, but also, because the Spirit of a Man hath its Limits, and it is very rare, to find in one and the same Person, a Genius equally proper for all Things.

So that we agreed that some of us should addict themselves to Astronomical Observations, Geometry, and to the Examination of Mechanical Arts; whilst others should chiefly be taken up in the Study of what relates to Anatomy, Knowledge of Simples, History of Animals, and other parts of Natural Philosophy, which every one should choose, according as his Fancy led him; yet so, that even those who should keep themselves within the Compass of any subject Matter, should, nevertheless, not neglect the rest, when Time, Place, or Persons, should afford them Occasions to make any new Discovery therein: we agreed likewise that we should mutually communicate our

Notions one to another, to the end, that each one might benefit by the common Reflections, and withal, that nothing, if possible, should escape our attention.

But let us take what Care we could to succeed in this Undertaking, we easily perceived, that Six Persons busied besides in the Study of Languages, and in preaching the Gospel, could never be able to go through with such a vast Design; It therefore came into our Mind, first of all, to engage the *Europeans* that were at that Time in the *Indies*, but above all, the Missionaries; to the end that every one of us might concur in carrying on a Design, equally Beneficial and Glorious to all Nations. Secondly, to establish in divers Places, some particular Houses, where our Mathematicians, and Philosophers should labour after the Example, and under the Conduct of the Academians of *Paris*; who from thence, as from the Center of Sciences, might communicate their Thoughts, their Method, and their Discoveries, and receive, (if I may be so bold as to say so) as by Reflexion, our weak Lights.

But these Two Expedients, so proper in themselves for the promoting of our Project, and withal capable to render *France* Famous to Posterity, have hitherto proved ineffectual; on the one hand, we have found very little Disposition in other Nations to second us: on the other hand, the Revolutions of *Siam*, have overthrown our first Observatory, which the King's Liberality, and the Zeal of his Minister of State, had in a manner quite finished.

These Accidents, tho' fatal ones, did not yet discourage us; we had Thoughts of laying the Foundation of a Second Observatory in *China*, still more Magnificent, than *that* of *Siam*. It would have been no such difficult Matter, to have built several others afterward at *Hispaan* in *Persia*, at *Agria* in the *Mogul*'s Country, in the Isle of *Borneo* under the Line, in *Tar-*

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tary, and in ſeveral other Places whoſe Situation might facilitate the Execution of our Deſign; when that univerſal War, that has ſet all *Europe* on Fire ſo many Years, made us ſenſible of it in the *Indies*, and in one Moment, broke all our Meaſures.

Perhaps, Sir, Peace may put us into the ſame Road again, that the Tempeſt hath forced us to forſake, and that all in good time, we ſhall enjoy a Calm equally advantageous to Religion, to the People's Happineſs, and to the Perfection of Sciences. In the mean time, as contrary Winds do not hinder skilful Pilots to go forward a little, notwithſtanding they do much retard their ſailing, ſo have we endeavoured, maugre all theſe Tempeſts, to purſue our former Deſign, and continue a Work, the Eſſay of which, as you may ſhortly ſee, will not perhaps be altogether unprofitable.

The difficulty that Men have found from all Antiquity, to regulate the Motions of the Stars, was never to be overcome, either by the Lucubrations of ancient Aſtronomers, or even by all the Penetration of the Neoterics, what Endeavours ſoever our Imagination may have uſed to dive into theſe Myſteries of the Omnipotent Creator, yet have we made but a ſorry Progreſs; and we muſt needs confeſs, that Heaven is at a much greater diſtance from our Thoughts, and Conception, than it is elevated above our Heads. Nothing can bring us nearer to it, than a continued Series of Obſervations, and an exact Enquiry into every thing that Occurs in the Stars, becauſe that this continual Attention to their Motions, (making us perceive the groſs, and as it were palpable Errors of ancient Syſtems) gives Occaſion to Aſtronomers to reform them by little and little, and make them more conformable to Obſervation; to this purpoſe, in theſe latter days, men have ſo carefully applied themſelves to the perfecting of Inſtruments,

Pendulums, Telescopes, and of whatsoever may any ways bring the Heavens nearer to our Eyes.

In *France*, *England*, and *Denmark*, and in divers other Places in the World, they have elevated huge Machines, built magnificent Towers, as it were to serve instead of Stairs to those who would proceed in this new Road; and the Progress that many Observators have already made, is so considerable, that one may hope for great Matters in future Ages; provided Princes do continue by their Liberality, to uphold such a toilsome Piece of Work. This is, Sir, in general, what we have contributed towards it for our Part.

First of all, we have been most conversant in Observing the Eclipses, and because *those* of the Sun, have more than all others, occasioned peoples Admiration; we have been very Diligent to improve all Occasions that might seem favourable to us. Amongst those that offered themselves, there chanced to be Two somewhat odd, and particular, and will afford some delight to the Curious.

The First, was the Eclipse that happened about the end of *April*, 1683. We knew that it was to be Total in some Parts of *China*, altho' at *Pekin* where we sojourned some time before, it was to be but indifferent Great; for you know, Sir, there is a great difference between the Eclipses of the Sun, and *those* of the Moon; The Moon that hath only a precarious Light, is covered with real Darkness, when ever the Earth robs her of the Sun beams, and doth not appear eclipsed to some certain People, but that she at the same time hides her face from the Eyes of others in like manner. The Sun on the contrary, that is a Body of its own Nature, always Splendid, always Luminous, or rather, is light it self, can never be Obfuscated or Darkened, and when the Moon by covering it, seems to deprive it of all its Lustre; it is not the Sun that is Eclipsed, it

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is the Earth, it is we indeed that do find our ſelves at that time all in Darkneſs. So that Aſtronomers would ſpeak more proper, if inſtead of naming it an Eclipſe of the Sun, they would name it an Eclipſe of the Earth.

Thence it comes to paſs, that this Eclipſe is at the ſame time very different, according to the different Regions where one is, inſomuch, that if ſeveral Obſervators at a diſtance one from another, were placed upon the ſame Line drawn from Eaſt to Weſt, it might ſo happen, that the firſt would ſee the whole Body of the Sun, as it is commonly ſeen, whilſt the ſecond would diſcover but one Part of it. There, it would appear half covered, here, it would be no more than an Ark of Light; and ſtill farther off, it might perchance totally diſappear. *Arch.*

It is likewiſe for the ſame Reaſon, that an Obſervator placed at the Center of the Earth, would not behold the Sun Eclipſed, as we do here; now this Difference, which they term the *Paralax*, would increaſe, or decreaſe, according as this Luminary ſhould be more or leſs elevated above the Horizon; this is what the *Chineſe* were hitherto ignorant of, and of which, to this day, they have but a very ſuperficial Knowledge. As for the *Indians*, much leſs capable of being Poliſhed, and Refined than the *Chineſe*, they are always admiring ſuch wonderful Effects; Inſomuch, that the King of *Siam* demanded one day, if the Sun in *Europe*, was the ſame with theirs in the *Indies*, being it appeared at the ſame time ſo different in theſe Two Places.

Wherefore we departed on purpoſe from *Pekin*, to get to *Kiam-cheou*, a conſiderable City in the Province of *Chanſi*; where, according to our Calculation, the Sun was to be totally Eclipſed: Yet, it was not ſo, becauſe the Longitude of the Country was not yet perfectly known to us. The Heavens were that day

extreme Serene, the Place very Convenient, our Instrument fitly Placed, and being Three Observators, nothing was wanting that might render the Observation Exact.

Amongst the different Methods, that may be made use of for these sorts of Operations, we made Choice of Two, that seemed to us the most Plain and Easie; The one was to look upon the Sun, with a Telescope of Three Foot long, in which they had placed at the *focus objectivi*, *Reticula* or little Net, composed of Twelve little Threads of raw Silk, very small, and equally distant one from another, yet so, that they might precisely take up all the Space of the Sun, whose Diameter appeared after this manner to the Eye, divided into Twelve equal Parts.

The Second consisted in receiving the representation of the Sun (by a Telescope of Twelve Foot) that was painted upon a piece of Pastboard opposite to the Optic-Glass, at a proportional Distance; we had drawn upon the said Pastboard Twelve little Concentrical Circles, the biggest whereof, was equal to the apparent *Discus* of the Sun. So that it was easy for us to determin not only the Beginning, Duration, and End of the Eclipse, which require no more but a single Optic glass, and a well regulated Pendulum; but also its Bigness, or (as they commonly call it) its Quantity, and the Time that the Shadow, or rather the Moon spends in covering or uncovering each Part of the Sun: for notwithstanding all these Parts are equal amongst themselves, yet it doth not therefore follow, that there is requisite an equal Number of Minutes to go over them, because the continual Change of the *Paralax*, retards, or puts forward the apparent Motion of the Moon.

There wanted but the 24th Part to the total covering of the Sun, and we determined it to be an Eclipse of Eight Digits and an half, (for so Astronomers term it)

it) for to make their Calculation Juſt, they are wont to divide the apparent Diameter of the Planets into Twelve Digits, and every Digit into Sixty Minutes. In the mean time we obſerved firſt of all, that when Three Quarters of the Sun were eclipſed, the Day appeared in a manner not at all changed by it; nay, and we could hardly have perceived it, if we had not had otherwiſe Notice of it: ſo that an ordinary Cloud was almoſt capable of producing the very ſame Effect.

Secondly, tho' we did not at the height of the Eclipſe, ſee more than a little Ark of Light, yet might a Man read very eaſily in the Court, the ſmalleſt Character. I have ſeen ſome Storms that obſcured the Heavens as much as they were at that Time.

Thirdly, we could by no means diſcover any Star, tho' we endeavoured it all we could. We only perceived *Venus*, which doth not denote any great Obſcurity, ſince this Planet appears often times, even at ſuch time as the Sun is wholly riſen above the *Horizon*.

The *Chineſe* notwithſtanding, were terribly allarmed, imagining that the Earth was going ſuddenly to invelloped in thick Darkneſs. They made an hideous Noiſe all abroad, to oblige the *Dragon* to be gone. It is to this Animal that they attribute all the diſappearances of the Stars, which come to paſs, ſay they, becauſe the Celeſtial *Dragon* being hunger-bit, holds at that time the Sun or Moon faſt between his Teeth, with a Deſign to devour them.

At length the Light returned by Degrees, and eaſed the *Chineſe* of their Trouble; but we continued our Operation, comparing by different Calculations, the Greatneſs, Continuance, and Ending of this Eclipſe, with the different Tables of ancient and modern Aſtronomers. There was alſo made at *Pekin*, *Hamcheou*, and in ſeveral other Cities of *China*, the very ſame Obſervations, which might have ſerved to de-

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termin the Longitude of all these different Places, if we had not had more sure, and easier Methods to know it by.

Upon the whole; this Observation afforded an Occasion to make some Reflections upon several other Eclipses, whereof Authors speak diversly. *Herodotus Lib.* 1. relates that upon the very Day that the King of the *Medes*, and the King of the *Lydians* fought a a bloody Battel, the Sun appeared totally eclipsed. The Combat, saith he, lasted a long Time with equal Advantage on both sides; till all on a suddain, thick Darkness covered the Earth, and for a while suspended the Fury of the Soldiers. Father *Petau* hath placed this Eclipse in the Year 597, before the Birth of our Saviour, on the 9th of *July*, altho' according to his Calculation, it ought to be but of 9 Digits 22 Minutes; imagining, without doubt, that this Portion of the Sun eclipsed, was considerable enough to verifie such thick Darkness which the Historians mention: Nevertheless, that is so far from sufficing, that our last Observation ought to convince us, that such an indifferent Eclipse as that was, could not so much as be seen by the Combatants: So that it is much more probable, that this famous Battel was fought in the Year 585 on the 28th day of *May*, a Day whereon there chanced o be a total Eclipse of the Sun.

Father *Petau* cannot disagree with us about this last Eclipse, but if we reckon it according to his Tables, we shall find that it is but of 11 Digits 20 Minutes, that is to say, not quite so big as ours; and for that Reason, we may suppose his Tables to be defective, because the 24th Part of the Sun sufficeth (as we have observed) to make the Day pretty Clear; notwithstanding the History would make us believe that it was obscure, yea, and even resembling the darkest Night.

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In the Year 310, before the Birth of our Saviour, *Agathocles* King of *Sicily*, sailing into *Africa* with his Fleet, bound for *Carthage*, the Sun totally disappeared, the Stars were seen every where, as if it had been Mid-night; whereupon divers Astronomers, and particularly *Ricciolus*, are of Opinion, that the Tables that allow to this Eclipse a Greatness, that comes pretty near *that* of the *Total*, do sufficiently make out the History: Nevertheless, it is manifest by what we have Observed, that the Stars would never have been perceived, especially in that brightness, and after that manner that *Diodorus* and *Justin* say they did, if so be there had been any sensible Part of the Sun discovered, except this same Part not being eclipsed, had not been near the *Horizon*, as it happened in the Year 237, in the beginning of the Reign of *Gordianus Junior*; for at that Time the Heavens were so darkened, that it was impossible to know one another without Wax tapers, at least if we give credit to *Julius Capitolinus*.

The Second Eclipse we observed, still more considerable than the former, was seen by Father *Tachard*, in his Voyage into the *Indies*, he was at Sea on board an *Holland* Vessel; and if the Place would have given him leave to make use of Instruments, we should never have seen any thing more ingenious on this Subject.

The Eclipse appeared *Central*, that is to say, the Center of the Moon, was quite opposite to the Center of the Sun; but because the apparent *Discus* of the Sun, was at that time bigger than *that* of the Moon, there was seen in the Heavens, a bright Ring, or a great Circle of Light, and what is most to be wondred at on this Occasion is, that Father *Tachard* assures us, that this Circle was at least a Fingers-breadth, which would not agree, neither with the Tables of ancient Astronomers, nor of the Moderns:

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but it is no such easy Matter, to make a just Estimate of the bigness of Luminous Bodies, when one judges only upon View; because the Light that sparkles, and reflects, causeth them evermore to appear much bigger than they really are.

However, these sort of Eclipses which are called, *Annulary Eclipses* are very rare; yea, and some Mathematicians are of Opinion, that there cannot be any at all, because they suppose as a thing granted by all hands, that the Diameter of the Moon, even in it's *Apogæum*, that is, at it's greatest Distance from the Earth, was always either equal to *that* of the Sun, or even sensibly greater.

So likewise *Kepler* writing to *Clavius*, upon the Account of an *Annulary Eclipse* that they had observed at *Rome* on the 9th of *April*, in the Year 1567 pretends that this Luminary Border was nothing else, but a little Crown of condensed Air, enflamed, or enlightned by the Sun-beams, broken, or refracted in the *Atmosphere* of the Moon. This last Observation may be capable of undeceiving those who may have persisted obstinately to follow the like Opinion, as well as to disabuse *Gassendus* his Disciples, who imagin that the Sun cannot flow over the Moon above Four Minutes at most, that is to say, by it's 180th Part.

Besides these Two Eclipses, we have also seen some others of lesser Consequence, which I shall forbear to mention, because they contain nothing extraordinary. Those of the Moon have most employed our time, not only because they are in a greater Number, but because there is greater difficulty to observe them well,

The brighter the Sun is, the more sensible is its defect, and the body of the Moon, very obscure and opake of it self, depriving us of the sight of it, doth not permit us to doubt so much as one moment of the be-

beginning or ending of its Eclipſe; but it is not ſo with the Moon, that does not loſe its Light but by degrees, and by an almoſt inſenſible Diminution. As the Experience we have of it, makes us better perceive all theſe difficulties, than the moſt profound Speculations. Will you pleaſe, Sir, to let me acquaint you in few Words, what perplexes us the moſt, as to this Point.

The Earth in its different Aſpects it bears to the Sun, hath always one half of its Globe enlightned; whilſt its other Hemiſphere muſt needs be in Darkneſs, like a Bowl that is enlightened by a Wax-candle by Night, ſo that on one ſide there is a projection, as it were a long Tail of Shadow, in faſhion of a Cone, the point whereof is very far extended, and loſeth itſelf at length in the vaſt extent of Air.

When therefore the Moon by its particular Motion, paſſes through this tenebrous Space, ſhe loſeth her Light, and becomes obſcure herſelf; but now if we could mark the very Moment wherein ſhe enters into it, and comes out again, we ſhould know exactly, the beginning and ending of the Eclipſe, but ſeveral Accidents that happen at that time, do not ſuffer us to obſerve it with ſo great niceneſs.

Firſt of all, a long time before the Moon touches the Shadow, I but juſt now mentioned, its oriental Border is enlightened only by a ſmall Portion of the Sun, which the Earth deprives her of by little and little, and by piece-meal: ſo that at that time, there is to be ſeen a kind of Smoak that ſpreads abroad inſenſibly upon the Body of the Moon, which often precedes the real Shadow a Quarter of an Hour; being this Smoak always increaſes, according as the Eclipſe approaches, it is ſo confounded and mixed with the beginning of the Shadow, that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſtinguiſh it from it. So that neither Experience, nor Application, nor yet the beſt Teleſcopes, can him-

hinder an able Observator from mistaking sometimes One Minute, nay, and sometimes Two.

Secondly, when I say, that the Eclipse is caused by the interposition of the Terrestrial Globe, it is not that the Moon is then plunged into its Shadow, which never reaches farther than Fifty Thousand Leagues, supposing the Earth's Diameter to be 1146 Sea-Leagues, whereas the Moon, even in her *Perigæum*, is above 57000 Leagues from the Earth: But the Globe of the Earth being encompassed with a thick and gross Air, which we call its *Atmosphere*, which the Rays cannot quite penetrate; there is caused by the interposition of those Vapours a new Shadow, whose Diameter, and Length, do far surpass the true Shadow of the Earth. Now these Vapors are so much the more Transparent, as they are the more Remote from us; whence it comes to pass, that they also make a more faint Shadow at the beginning and end of the Eclipse, and consequently, they do not afford that Liberty to Observators, to determin them with any exactness.

You may understand by that, Sir, why we often discover the Moon, yea, at the very height of the Eclipse so far as to distinguish her smallest Spots; why she paints herself at that time in so various Colors, for she appears Red, Ash colored, Iron-gray, Bluish or somewhat inclining to Yellow, insomuch, that she seems to be herself sensible of her failings, and shews certain signs of her different Passions. You see on the contrary, why in some certain Eclipses, she totally disappears, and steals quite out of our sight. All this doth no question happen from the Nature of this *Atmosphere*, which changes perpetually, and thereby produces these different effects.

In the Third Place, when the Moon begins to grow dark near the Horizon, it is yet more difficult to observe well the beginning of it; and a Man must take

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ſpecial Notice, that the Time of this apparent beginning, compared with the Time of its ending, doth not give you the middle of the Eclipſe exactly, becauſe the Vapors are much more groſs at the Horizon, than they are at Thirty or Forty Degrees of elevation.

Fourthly, altho the direct Rays of the Sun do not paſs through the *Atmoſphere* of the Earth, yet are there a great many of them, that turning aſide, or as they ſpeak by being *broken* by *refraction*, may enlighten the Border of the Moon, and conſequently hinder the Shadow from being exactly Terminated.

Fifthly, it ſometimes cometh to paſs, that the Shadow begins to touch the Oriental Edge of the Moon, at the place where the Spots are more obſcure than *thoſe* of the Occidental Border, which makes, that a Man cannot judge equally of the End and the Beginning; we owe, Sir, all this Refining of Aſtronomy, to the modern Obſervators: The Ancients went more roundly to work in this matter, and *Tyco Brahe* himſelf, did not yet hit of it with all his Subtilty.

But the Moderns have been more ingenious to find out theſe Difficulties, than to find out an Expedient to ſurmount them; and we have more than once experienced in our Obſervations, that it is not without extreme Trouble, that one arrives at that exactneſs, which is required by the Learned of our Age; yet have we this Advantage, that we are a great many Obſervators together, and that we are able by communicating our Notions and Doubts one to another, to come nearer the Truth. Beſides the Heavens have ſupplied us with a great many Eclipſes of the Moon; and there hath but few Years paſt, but we might have obſerved One or Two.

But amongſt this great Number, that which happened on the Eleventh of *December* 1685. was the moſt favourable to us; we were at that time at *Siam*: The King to whom we had predicted it, and who deſired

ſired to try the goodneſs of our *Tables*, was ſo ſurpriſed by conferring what he did behold, with our Prediction, that from that very time, he had ſome thoughts of detaining us near his Perſon; or at leaſt to ſend ſome Body to find out ſome *French* Aſtronomer in *Europe* for him. He offered of his own accord to build a magnificent Obſervatory for us at *Louveau*, to render Aſtronomy, if poſſible, as famous in *India*, as it was become in *Europe*, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Royal Obſervatory in *Paris*. And certainly, if ever the Stars were the Preſage of future Events, all the Heavens ſeemed then to promiſe us an happy Succeſs in this new Undertaking; but it is not the ſenſible Courſe of the Planets, that rule our Deſtinies here below; they proceed from an higher overruling Power, and all their Conſequences are written in that myſterious Book of Divine Providence, which before all ages hath determined the different events of this World.

This Project of the King of *Siam*, ſo favourable to *France*, to natural Sciences, and to Religion, was quickly put in execution; but the Death of that good Prince overthrew it almoſt in an Inſtant, and changed the Face of all Things. The Troubles that then aroſe, forced our Mathematician Miſſionaries to abſent themſelves, and thereby cauſed, if I may ſo ſay, a kind of an Eclipſe, which hath ſo long deprived thoſe People of the *European* Sciences, and Light of the Goſpel: Yet theſe Clouds begin to be diſpelled. They are very earneſt to have us come back again: but we have learnt by woful Experience, not to rely too much upon the good Will of Man, but to place all our Confidence in *him*, who alone can when it ſeems good to him, bring Light out of Darkneſs.

This laſt Eſſay, for all that, hath been of ſome Uſe to Aſtronomy, and we can aſſure you, that the Lunar Eclipſes obſerved at *Siam*, *Louveau*, [illegible] *bery*,

Pekin, Nankin, Kiam chau, and at *Canton,* with several other Places of the East, will not only contribute to the regulating the Celestial Motions, but likewise to the perfecting of Geography.

Altho the Science of Comets be not of so grand a Consequence, yet is it not less admirable; nay, methinks the Curiosity of the Learned, should be so much the more spur'd on to attempt something this way, as it is more difficult to satisfie *it* as to this Point, for it is more than probable, that the wit of Man will not be able in a long time, to dive into the bottom of these marvellous *Phænomena.*

Comets are so Rare, of so short Continuance, and so different amongst themselves, that if they be new Bodies, that are formed and destroyed in the Heavens; it is very hard, and in a manner impossible to lay down general Rules of their Motions, or to prognosticate their Appearance, and Continuance, if they be real Planets.

We have had the oportunity to observe Two of them, the first was seen in a Province in the Kingdom of *Siam,* on the confines of *Camboje* towards the Sea-Coast. It was in the Month of *August* 1686. It cut the Equator, passing from North to South, in the 111th Degree of right Ascension; and its own particular Motion that brought it still near the Sun, quite absorpt it, at last, into the Sun-beams.

The Second appeared at *Pontichery, Molucca,* and *Pekin,* in the Month of *December,* 1689. Its Motion was contrary to *that* of the former, it removed from the Sun, and came nearer the Southern Pole, running over the Constellations, *Lupus* and *Centaurus,* where it disappeared in the beginning of *January* to the ensuing Year.

If we have but a smattering in the Science of Comets, yet in recompence we are sufficiently instructed in what relates to Planets; and what our Astro-

nomers have discovered at *Paris*, since the Establishment of the Observatory, is already matter of Comfort to us, for the Negligence or Ignorance of the Ancients.

Amongst the different ways of going to work how to determin their place in the Heavens, the most plain, and withal the most exact, is, to take notice of their Conjunction with the fixt Stars. It is near a Thousand Years ago, that *Saturn* the highest of all the Planets appeared close by the Equator, and near a Star of the Third Magnitude, situate in the Southern Shoulder of *Virgo*. *Tycho* in his time observed it in the same Sign; and we also have seen it near *Spica Virginis*, but with this Advantage, that the Telescopes we made use of, makes our Observation incomparably more exact, than *those* of the Ancients; who, for that purpose, made only use of their naked Eye, always defective, at such a great Distance, especially in respect of the Stars, whose apparent Diameter is augmented by the Light, and by a kind of *Coma* of sparkling Rays, according to the Language of Astronomers, that reflect from their whole body, which makes it many times appear where indeed it is not.

Whereas a good Telescope makes them less glittering, rounds them, gives them their true Bigness, and so approaches them to the Eyes, that one does likewise distinguish them one from another, even when they touch one another at the Edges, or Borders, and when they are just upon uniting together.

Thus we determined the place of *Mars*, by the approaching of two Stars of the *Scorpion*'s Head, *that* of the *Moon*, by her Conjunction with the *Antares*, or Heart of the *Scorpion*, and *that* of *Venus*, that passed near a Star of the Third Magnitude belonging to the same Sign.

This

This Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Mars* that happened about the end of *February*, 1687, did also take up several days. We were at that time at *Louveau*, where the King of *Siam*, who took a pride in Astronomy, did observe it in Person with an earnestness and uneasiness, that shewed more of Superstition, than Natural Curiosity.

He had a fancy that this Conjunction would be fatal to him, and that it was an assured prognostication of his Death. We endeavoured, but all in vain, to undeceive him, by *M. Constance* his principal Minister of State, whom we made apprehensive, that the Events of this lower World have no Communication with the particular Motion of the Planets; and, that altho' our Destiny should depend thereon, yet the King was no more concern'd in it, than the most abject of his Subjects, for whom the Sun and the Stars do as well turn round, as for the greatest Potentate upon Earth.

Nevertheless these Reasons, nor abundance of others, could set him to rights: He still maintain'd that his Reign was not to last long, and that he should be a dead Man within a few days. In effect he died the next Year; but it was in vain for him to seek for the cause of his death in the Heavens, which he carried about him for several Years: an habitual Distemper did extreamly trouble him at that very time, and that, without doubt, was the true ground of his Fear and Prediction.

I do not know, Sir, whether or no these Observations will appear singular and odd to you; yet, methinks, this at least which I am going to have the honour of relating to you, does a little deserve your attention.

You know that *Mercury* hitherto hath been the least known, and (if I may so say) the least tractable of all the Planets: Always absorpt in the rays of the Sun,

or in the vapours of the Horizon, he continually flies it seems, all the courtings and caresses of Astronomers, who are put to as much trouble to fix him in the Heavens, as Chymists are to fix their Mercury upon Earth.

We read in the Life of *Charlemagne*, that the Mathematicans of his times, despairing of ever being able to observe him well, when he was the farthest remote from the Sun, endeavoured to find him in the Sun it self, under which they suspected he might sometimes pass. They supposed they had there found him in the Month of *April* 807. or rather 808. except the Historian counted the beginning of the Year at that time from *Easter*: In effect, a black Spot appeared in the Sun eight days, tho' his going in and coming out were hindered by a Cloud.

I wonder this Observation could have been able to make them judge that this was *Mercury*, who is so far from spending eight days in running over such a little space, that he must, according to his natural course, finish it in a very few hours; besides that, it is utterly impossible for a Man to perceive him in the Sun, without the help of a Telescope, and that too a very good one. What therefore they then saw, or supposed to see, was, without doubt, a Spot, not unlike those that have so often appeared since, but bigger than ordinary, and conspicuous enough to be discovered by the bare sight.

Gassendus was more fortunate, *Anno* 1631. on the seventh of *November*. The Observation he made of it hath rendered him so famous, that some Authors to do him Honour, have dedicated their Books to him, as a Person to whom Astronomy was infinitely obliged: Some others also have signaliz'd themselves by this curious disquisition; we are the last that have had occasion to imitate them, but our Observation peradventure may not deserve the meanest esteem of all those which have been made. We

We were at *Canton*, a Maritim Town of *China*, and pretty well known by the *Europeans* Traffick. We apply'd our selves to the particular studying of the Motion of this Planet, and that made us judge, that it would not be altogether impossible to discover it in the Sun, on the tenth day of *November*, 1690. to that end we prepared two excellent Telescopes, the one of 5 foot, that bore a *reticula* equal to the diameter, divided into twelve equal parts, and the other of twelve foot, with its *reticula*, composed of four Threads, one whereof represented a Parallel, and the other the Meridian, the two others cut them at the Angle of forty five degrees; we also rectified our *Pendulums*: Besides all this, the Heavens were exceeding clear and serene; and bating the Wind, which was a little violent, we could wish for nothing to the exactness of our Observation.

Mercury appeared to us like a black point or speck, which entring into the body of the Sun, run over it; in three hours and a half, or thereabouts, we exactly observed its time, entrance, departure, its distance from the Ecliptic, its apparent swiftness, longitude and diameter. We understood likewise by that, with the greatest certainty in the World, that this Planet hath no proper light of its own; that its Body is Opake, and that it is at least, sometimes less distant from us than the Sun, the which could not formerly be determined but only by conjecture.

We owe, Sir, these fine Discoveries to the Invention of Optick Glasses and Telescopes, as we do a great many other things, which in these latter Ages are the Subject of the New Astronomy. So that as by means of Microscopes, we multiply the most simple Bodies, and magnifie the most minute, and almost insensible ones; so likewise by help of these Telescopes, we approach to our eyes the most distant Objects, and do abridge those infinite spaces that separate the Firma-

ment from the Earth; Art having in a manner forced Nature to suffer Men to have free commerce with Heaven for time to come, and let Mathematicians enter more easily into a kind of Society with the Stars.

We find at present Mountains and Precipices in the Moon, we discern its least Shadows, that increase or decrease, according to the different posture of the Sun; we measure the *maculæ* of Planets, we have a shrewd guess of their Colours, Latitudes, of their circular Motion about their Center. It is by that, that Men have perceived that prodigious Ring that appeared in the Air, suspended about *Saturn* in form of a Vault, or like a Bridge, that would encompass the whole Earth without Arches, without Piles, without any other support, beside the uniform weight and perfect continuity of its parts.

Gallileo and many other Astronomers, have in vain put their Brains on the rack to explain this Mystery; they look'd upon this Planet as another *Proteus*, always changing, always differing from it self; to day round, then oval, by and by Armed with two *Ansæ* or Handles, that opened or shut according to the time of the Revolution: Or else accompanied with two little Stars, that vaulted up and down without ever forsaking it: Lastly, cut in the middle with a broad *Fascia* or Swaithing-band, whose extremities were extended far beyond its Sphere.

We have a long time examined this wonderful Work of the Omnipotence of our Creator; and notwithstanding we cannot but admire *M. Hugens* his Ingenuity, who hath reduced to such a plain and facile System, all these seeming irregularities, yet for all that, we must confess that we are ignorant of much more of it, than that Learned Astronomer was able to discover to us.

It is less difficult to explain the different Figures of *Mars*, *Mercury*, and *Venus*, which appeared to us sometimes round, sometimes gibbose, sometimes *dicotomised*, and ever and anon in fashion of a Bow, or Sickle; and the truth is, when *Venus* approaches the Sun, and when she is besides in her *Perigæon*, she appears in the Telescope so little different from the New Moon, that it is very easie for one to commit a mistake.

I do remember, that causing a *Chinese* to observe it in this posture, who had but little skill in Astronomical Secrets, he did no longer doubt, but presently gave his assent, and making him at the same take notice of the Moon at a place in the Heavens not far remote: He cried out for joy, and told me then, that he now comprehended that which had always perplext him. *I did not know*, says he seriously, *how the Moon could change Faces so often, and appear sometimes in the wax, and sometimes in the wane, but now I perceive it is a Body composed of several parts, which sometimes is taken in pieces, and then join'd together again after some certain times; for to day at least, I see one half of it on one side, and one half on the other.*

The Knowledge also that we have acquired by Telescopes, concerning the number of the Stars, is likewise more curious. That large *Fascia* that embraces almost the whole Heaven, which they commonly call for whiteness the Milky-way, is a *congeries* of an infinite number of Minute Stars, each one of which in particular, hath not strength enough to affect our eyes; no more can the *Nebulosæ*, whose dim and confused Light is like to a little Cloud, or head of a Comet, yet it is a compound of several Stars; so they reckon thirty six of them in that of *Præsepe cancri*, twenty one in that of *Orion*, forty in the *Pleiades*, twelve in the single Star, that makes the middle of the Sword of *Orion*, five hundred in

the extent of two degrees of the same Constellation, and two thousand five hundred in the whole Sign; which hath given occasion to some to imagin, that the number of them is infinite.

At least it is true that the prodigeous bigness of each Star, which according to some, differ but little from the Sun; that is to say, whose Globe is perhaps a thousand times bigger than that of the Earth, which nevertheless appears but as a Point in the Heavens, ought to convince us of the vast extent of this Universe, and of the infinite Power of its Author.

I cannot, Sir, finish this Discourse, before I have spoken of some Observations we have made of the *Satellites*. These are so many little Planets that belong to the train of bigger ones, which were detected in our Age, they continually turn about *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and *Mars*, &c. some nearer, and some farther off from the center of their motion; they sculk sometimes behind their Body, sometimes again they are plunged into their Shadow, from whence they come out more splendid; nay, it even happens, that when they are between the Sun and their Planet, they Eclipse one part of it. I have sometimes beheld with a great deal of delight, a black Point, that run upon the *discus* of *Jupiter*, which one would have taken for a blemish, yet in effect was nothing else but the shadow of one of these *Satellites*, that caused an Eclipse upon its Globe, as the Moon does upon the Earth, when by her Interposition she deprives it of the Sun's light. We do not know for what particular use Nature hath designed these *Satellites* in the Heavens, but *that* which we Astronomers make use of them, is very useful for the perfection of Geography; and since *M. Cassini* hath communicated his Tables to the Observators, one may easily and in a very small time, determine the Longitude of the principal Cities of the World. Insomuch that if the irregular Motion of Ships would

would permit us to make use of the Telescopes at Sea, the Science of Navigation would be perfect enough to make long Voyages with a great deal of safety.

We have observed the *immersions* and *emersions* of the *Satellites Jovis* at *Siam*, *Louveau*, *Pontichery*, at the Cape of *Good Hope* and in several Cities of *China*; but the observations made at *Nimpo* and *Chamhay*, that are the most Eastern Cities, have reduc'd the great Continent to its true limits, by cutting off above five hundred Leagues from the Country, that never subsisted but in the imagination of the antient Geographers

Since, Sir, I speak of what respects the perfection of Geography, I shall tell you moreover that we have taken some pains to determine the Latitude of Coasts Ports, and the most considerable Cities of the *East*, by two other methods. First, By a great number of Observations about Meridian Altitudes of the Sun and Stars. Secondly, By divers Maps, and Sea Charts, that our Voyages have given us occasion to invent or perfect. I have a *Ruttiér*, or Directory, for finding out the Course of a Vessel from *Nimpo* to *Pekin*, and from *Pekin* to *Ham-cheou*; where we have omitted nothing that may any way contribute to the perfect knowing of the Country, so that the particularities of it is in my Opinion too large: nay, and even too troublesome to those, who in these sorts of Relations, do rather seek after delight than profit.

I have also by me the Course of the Rivers that lead from *Nankin* to *Canton*, it is the Work of two or three months, and a tedious one too I'll assure you, when one would do things to purpose: the Map is eighteen Foot long, and each minute takes up above four Lines or the third part of Inch; so that all the By-ways, the breadth of the River, the smallest Islands, and least Cities are there exactly and accurately set down. We had always the Sea-Compass in

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our hand, and we always took care to observe ever and anon upon the Road, the Meridian Altitude of every particular Star, to correct our estimate, and determine more exactly the Latitude of the principal Cities of the Country.

Whereupon, Sir, I cannot forbear making some reflections in this place, which may one day be useful perhaps for the resolving a material Problem in *Physicks*. Men are not yet sure whether all Seas in the World be upon the level one with another. The generous Principles of sound Phylosophy, will have it that all Liquor of the same Kind, that Communicate own with another, do spread uniformly, whether by their own weight, or by the prestion of the Air; and at last take the same Surface. Most of the Experiments are in this Point pretty congruous to Reason; yet some later Reflections have started a doubt whether or no the Sea had not really some *inclination*, and were not more elevated in some certain places than in others. What I have remarked touching this last Map I but now mentioned, seems to back this last Opinion.

For in the Provinces of *Canton*, and *Kianfi*, is to be seen a Mountain out of which issues two Rivers, the one flows towards the South; and after it has watered fifty Leagues of the Country, it disimbogues into the Sea near the City of *Quamtcheou*, the other flows contrary, *viz.* to the North, crosses several Provinces for the space of two hundred Leagues, and turns aside insensibly, and enters into the East Sea, or Sea of *Japan*, insomuch that the *emboucheurs*, or mouths of the two Rivers are not distant one from another (if you do but even follow the Coasts that separate them) above three hundred Leagues or thereabouts.

Nevertheless, the Northern River seems more rapid in its whole Course, than *those* of the South, and being besides four times longer, it must needs be that

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the Seas, where both of them meet, have a different elevation, or which is the same thing, are not upon the self same level.

I shall not speak, Sir, of several other Maps, wherein we have reform'd part of the Coasts of *Coromandel*, of *Pescherie*, *Molueca*, *Mergui*, and of *Camboje*, because they have not yet attained to that Perfection, that we hope we may be able to give them hereafter. But yet I have two of them that at present may venter to come abroad: the one represents the entrance into the Port of *Nimpo*, the most dangerous in all the World, by reason of the multitude of Isles, and Rocks that cover it on all sides; and put the skilfullest Pilots to a stand. We have subjoined thereto the Course from *Siam* to *China*, with a prospect of the chief Coasts, or Isles that are not met with by the way.

The other is still more curious, and indeed the only one in its Kind, the little occasion the *Europeans* have hitherto had to Sail into the great *Tartan*, obliged Geographers to make use, in their Descriptions of it, of I know not what memorandums, so little consistant with truth; that, as far as I see, they have purposely set themselves to deprive us of the knowledge of it. But the War breaking out, some years ago, between the Emperor of *China* and the Duke of *Moscovy*, they have on all sides diligently examined the limits of Realms, the bigness of Provinces, the fertility of Lands, Rivers, Mountains, Deserts, and whatsoever could any way be advantageous to these two Provinces, and might conduce in time to come, to conclude a solid lasting Peace between them.

Besides these Memoires, that fell into Father *Gerbillon*'s hands, the Father hath also taken several Journies of three or four hundred Leagues into the very Heart of the Country; going sometimes toward the West, sometimes to the South, observing as much as possibly could be, the Longitude, and Latitude of the most

most remarkable Places. So that the Map that he hath drawn out, begins at present to supply us with a right *Idea* of the disposition, and situation of this vast Country.

Amongst the things that are most singular in that Country, one may observe a ridge of Mountains, that are extended so far into the Sea between the East and North, that it hath been, to this day, almost impossible for Mariners to know or to double its Cape; which makes some suspect that this part of *Asia* may peradventure be at this place contiguous to the firm Land of *America*. We have besides all this, made several Observations concerning the variation of the Needle upon Tides, upon the length of a single Pendulum, which may however contribute something to the Perfection of Arts and Sciences.

Yet these general Observations have not so much taken up our time but that we have spared some to examine what there is in the East most curious, in the way of Natural Philosophy, Anatomy, and Botany.

Our Sojourning at *Siam* afforded us an opportunity, to view several particular Animals, which we seldom or never see in *Europe*; as for example the Elephant, the Nature of which we have described, as also its Docibleness, Strength, Courage, Dexterity, the interior, and exterior Contexture of all its Parts; together with divers other Properties, that the very People of that Country, that are accustomed to them, cannot chuse but admire.

There have we seen Tygres, much different from *those* that are sometimes to be seen in *France*, and other Countries; whether you look upon the colour, which is redish fallow, interlaced with large black streaks, or whether you respect the bigness, which sometimes is equal to the bigness of Horses; they call them *Royal Tygres*: those they call Water Tygres do exactly resemble a Cat. They live upon Fish, but

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do commonly live in Woods, or upon the Banks of Rivers.

There is likewise to be seen your *Rhinoceros*'s, one of the oddest Animals in the World, in my Opinion, it hath some resemblance with a wild Boar, only it is a little bigger, the Feet of it somewhat thicker, and the Body more clouterly shaped; its Hide is covered all over with thick large Scales, of a blackish colour, of an extraordinary hardness; they are divided into little squares, or buttons, rising about a quarter of an inch above the Skin, in a manner like *those* of the Crocodile; its Legs seem to be engaged in a kind of Boot, and its Head wrap'd about behind with a flat Capuche, or Monks Hood; which made the *Portuguese* to call him the *Indian* Monk: its Head is thick and gross; its Mouth not wide; its Muzzle thrust out, and armed with a long thick Horn, that makes him terrible to the very Tygres, Buffalo's and Elephants.

But that which seems the most admirable in this Animal, is its Tongue, which Nature hath covered with such a rough Membrane, that it differs but little from a File, so that it flees off the Skin of all that it licks. In a word, as we see some Animals here that make a good Ragoust of Thistles, whose little pricks tickle the Fibres, or the extremities of the Nerves of the Tongue: so likewise your *Rhinoceros*, takes delight in eating Branches of Trees, armed on all sides with stiff Thorns, I have often given it some of them, whose prickles were very hard and long, and I admired how cunningly and greedily it bended them immediatly, and champ'd them in its Mouth without doing itself any harm. 'Tis true indeed, they sometimes drew blood of him; but that very thing made them more pleasant to the Tast; and these little slight Wounds, made probably no other impression upon its Tongue, than Salt and Pepper does upon ours.

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What is to be seen in the Isle of *Borneo*, is yet more remarkable, and surpasseth all that ever the History of Animals hath hitherto related to be most admirable, the People of the Country assure us, as a thing notoriously known to be true: that they find in the Woods a sort of Beast, called the *Savageman*; whose Shape, Stature, Countenance, Arms, Legs, and other Members of the Body, are so like ours, that excepting the Voice only, one should have much ado not to reckon them equally Men with certain Barbarians in *Africa*, who do not much differ from Beasts.

This wild or Savage Man, of whom I speak, is indued with extraordinary strength, and notwithstanding he walks but upon two Legs; yet is he so swift of Foot, that they have much ado to out run him. People of Quality Course him, as we do Stags here, and this sort of Hunting is the Kings usual Divertisement. His Skin is all hairy, his Eyes sunk in his Head, a stern Countenance, tanned Face; but all his Lineaments are pretty proportionable, altho' harsh, and thickned by the Sun. I learn'd all these particulars from one of our chief *French* Merchants, who hath remained sometime upon the Island. Nevertheless, I do not believe a Man ought to give much Credit to such sort of Relations, neither must we altogether reject them as fabulous; but wait till the unanimous Testimonies of several Travellers may more particularly acquaint us with the truth of it.

Passing upon a time from *China* to the Coast *Coramandel*, I did my self see in the Straits of *Molucca* a kind of Ape, that might make pretty credible that which I just now related concerning the *Savage man*.

It marches naturally upon its two hind Feet, which it bends a little, like a Dogs that hath been taught to dance, it makes use of its two Arms as we do; its Visage is in a manner as well favoured as their's of the Cape of *Good Hope*; but the Body is all over covered

vered with a white, black, or grey Wooll: as to the reſt, it cries exactly like a Child; the whole outward Action is ſo human, and the Paſſions ſo lively and ſignificant, that dumb Men can ſcarce expreſs better their Conceptions and Appetites. They do eſpecially appear to be of very kind Nature; and to ſhew their Affections to Perſons they know and love, they embrace them, and kiſs them with tranſports that ſurpriſe a Man. They have alſo a certain motion, that we meet not with in any Beaſt, very proper to Children, that is to make a noiſe with their Feet, for joy or ſpight, when one gives, or refuſes them what they paſſionately long for.

Altho' they be very big, (for that I ſaw was at leaſt four Foot high) their nimbleneſs and ſlight is incredible; it is pleaſure beyond expreſſion to ſee them run up the tackling of a Ship, where they ſometimes play as if they had a particular knack of vaulting to themſelves, or as if they had been paid, like our Rope Dancers, to divert the Company.

Sometimes ſuſpended by one Arm, they poiſe themſelves for ſometime negligently to try themſelves, and then turn, all on the ſudden, round about a Rope with as much quickneſs as a Wheel, or a ſling that is once put in motion; ſometimes holding the Rope ſucceſſively with their long Fingers, and letting their whole Body fall into the Air, they run full ſpeed from one to the other, and come back again with the ſame ſwiftneſs. There is no Poſture but they imitate, nor motion but they perform; bending themſelves like a Bow, rowling like a Bowl, hanging by the Hands, Feet, and Teeth, according to the different fancies which their whimſical imagination ſupplies them with, which they act in the moſt diverting manner imaginable; but their Agility to fling themſelves from one Rope to another, at thirty and fifty Foot diſtance, is yet more ſurpriſing.

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So likewise, that we might the oftner have this pastime, we caused five or six of our Powder-Monkies, or Cabin-Boys trained up to this way of climbing up the Cords to follow them; then our Apes, cut such prodigious Capers, and slide with so much cunningness along the Masts, Sail yards, and Tackling of the Ship, that they seemed rather to fly than run, so much did their Agility surpass all that ever we have observed in other Animals.

Crocodiles being little known in *Europe*, and so common in the *Indies*, it has been our care to examine their Property, and whole Structure. Peradventure, Sir, our former dissections will be of some use hereafter, for the Project they laid, and carried on pretty far in the Academy, for the perfecting of Anatomy. We have added thereto some Anatomical remarks accompanied with Figures about the *Tockaies*, so named because they pronounce very frequently, and distinctly this Word. They are huge Lizards or small Crocodiles, found all over the Woods in *Siam*, as also in the Fields, and in Houses.

The Cameleon is likewise another sort of Lizard of between eight and ten inches in length, which served for a subject to our Observations, there are of them to be seen upon the Coast of *Coromandel*, and we breed of them at our House in *Pontichery*, for they do not live upon Air alone, as some Naturalists have written, for they eat, and that very greedily. 'Tis true indeed, that being of a very cold and moist temper, they can pass several daies without Aliment, but at the long run, if you give them none at all, you shall see them dwindle away by degrees, and at last die for Hunger.

Upon the whole, every thing is very odd in the *Cameleon*, its Eyes, Head, Belly, are exceeding big; and although it hath four parts, as a Lizard, yet is it so very slow in all its motions, that it crawls rather than

than goes; and if so be Natvre had not bestowed upon it a Tongue of a particular Contexture, it could never catch the Animals, in which does consist its Nourishment. This Tongue is round, thick, and at least a Foot in length, it darts this Tongue seven or eight inches out of its Mouth with a marvellous slight. Now the substance of it is so Viscous, that it detains Flies, Grashoppers, and other such like Insects, if it touch them but never so lightly with its Tip.

Its Body is cover'd all over with a very fine Skin, but is of a changeable Colour, according to the various Passions that agitate it: In Joy, it is of an Emerald green mixt with orange, etched with little grey and black Strokes; Choler makes it dusky and livid; Fear pale, and of a faded yellow: by times, all these Colours and many more are confounded together, and at times there is composed such a pretty medly of Shade and Light, that Nature does not afford a finer variety of shadowing, nor our finest Pictures more lively, sweet, and proportional Drawing.

They let me see likewise at *Pontichery* two other Kinds of Animals little known in *Europe*; the one is called *Chien-marron*, that takes after the Dog, Wolf, and Fox almost equally: It is of an indifferent Bigness, the Hair is grey and reddish, it hath short taper'd Ears, the Snout sharp, the Leg high, a long Tail, a Body slender and well shaped; it does not bark like Dogs, but cries just as Infants do: in a word, it is naturally voracious, and when Hunger pinches it, it enters into Houses in the night, and falls upon People.

The second sort is the *Mangoure*, which, as to its exterior Shape, comes very near the Weezel, except only that its Body is longer and bigger, the Legs shorter, the Snout slenderer, the Eye quicker, and somewhat less wild.

This Animal really is very familiar, and there is no Dog that plays and fawns more prettily with a Man than this Creature; nevertheless it is angry, and not to be trusted when it eats, always snarling at that time, and falls furiously upon those who will be troubling it.

It loves Hens Eggs more than any thing; but because its Chaps are not wide enough to seize on them, it strives to break them by throwing them aloft, or by rowling them an hundred ways upon the ground: but if there chance to be a Stone in its way, it presently lies upon it with its face downward, and striding with its hinder Legs, it takes the Egg in its fore Legs, and thrusts it with all its Might under its Belly till it be broken against the Stone.

It does not only hunt Rats and Mice, but Serpents, of whom it is a mortal Enemy, which it takes by the Head so cunningly, that it receives no hurt by it. It is at no less enmity with Cameleons, which at the very sight of it are seized with so mortal a fear, that they become immediately as flat as a Flounder, and fall down half dead; whereas at the Approach of a Cat, or Dog, or some other more terrible Animal, they swell, are enraged, and betake themselves either to their own Defence, or to assault them.

India being a very hot Country, and withal moist, produces a great number of other Animals; there is there especially abundance of Serpents of all sizes, and so pretty in respect of the Variety of Colours, that if it were not for the natural Antipathy that we have for this kind of Beast, I scarce know any thing that the Eye could take greater Delight in. The People of *Siam* are not so nice as we in this respect; they catch a prodigious number of them in the Woods, and expose them to sale in the Markets like Eles.

Yet there is a particular kind of them that they do not eat, they are present Poison, and that without Relief; they call them *Cobra capela*: some others are short, and of a triangular form, so that they always creep upon one of their three Faces; others also are still more odd, have no Tail, their Extremities are terminated by two Heads exactly alike in appearance, but very different in effect, in as much as the one hath not, as the other, the common Use of its Organs; for in these latter the Lips are join'd, the Ears stopt, the Eye-lids quite cover the Eyes, whilst the other eats, sees, hears, and guides all the rest of the Body.

Yet an *English-man* at *Madras*, who kept one in his House for Curiosity sake, assured me that every six Months the Organs of this second Head discloséd by little and little, and that on the contrary, *those* of the opposite Head, by closing themselves, ceased to perform their ordinary Functions; that, at the end of the like number of Months, they were both restored to their pristine state, and divided in that manner between them, each in its turn, the Care and Government of the Machine.

But God being no less wonderful in the least things than he is in the greatest, there are a prodigious number of Insects that might deserve the most serious Reflections. There you may see certain Flies that Nature hath painted of such a lively yellow, so polish'd and shining, that the most curious gilding does not come near it. Some others are but points of Light, that always glow and emit Rays all night long; all the Air appears as if set on fire with it when they fly; and when they light upon Leaves or Branches, the Trees resemble, afar off, those Fire-works they make in the *Indies* for solemn Illuminations.

Their white Pismires, every where to be found what Care soever Men take to destroy them, are very famous by reason of the great Inconveniencies they produce, and for their natural Properties. They are exceeding small, of a soft Substance, white, and sometimes a little russetty; they are multiplied *ad infinitum*; and whensoever they have once got into an House or Apartment, nothing but the black Pismires can drive them out; they have such sharp Teeth, and so penetrating, that they not only pierce through in one night the greatest Bails, Cloth, Wool, Silk, and all other Stuffs, but even Cabinets and Cupboards the Wood of which becomes in a few days all worm-eaten; they even spoil Wood, Copper, and Silver, upon which you may sometimes discern the signs and marks of their little Teeth: Notwithstanding all this, there is great Probability that this Effect proceeds more from the particular Quality of their *Saliva*, which is a kind of dissolving *Menstruum* and acts at that time much after the same manner as *Aqua fortis* does here upon our Metals.

Even the very Grashoppers are extraordinary; there are some of them in *Siam* that breed upon the Boughs of Trees, and are, if I may venture to say so, their Fruit in a manner, for the Leaves, preserving their natural Figure and Colour, grow somewhat thicker, their sides throw out on each hand a kind of green Filaments, in fashion of long Legs, one of the Extremities of the Leaf extends like a Tail, and the other waxes round like a Head, all which, in process, is animated, and metamorphosed into a Grashopper. This is what the People of the Country report, who pluck them from the Branches themselves; we have seen great store of them, and it is true that the Leaf appears entire with its Fibres, or at least nothing does more resemble a Leaf than the Body of this Animal. If this be true, this Tree is no less to be wondered at

at than *that* whose Leaves dropping into the Sea, in a short time turns to *Soland Geese*, as some Naturalists would make us believe.

It would here be a fit place to speak to you concerning the strange Trees we have met with in the East, but, if I am not mistaken, I have had formerly the Honour to discourse with you about them at large, especially of those that produce Vernish, Tea, Cotton, Tallow, Pepper, and many others, all of them singular in their kind, and very profitable for Commerce.

I have had also the Honour, Sir, to present you with about four hundred *China* Plants, drawn out in their natural Colours, and copied after those that are kept in the Closet of the Emperor of *China*: this is it that does chiefly compose the Herbal of *China*, and which, doubtless, will enrich ours, especially when we shall have the Translation of the Book where the Vertues and Use of all these Simples are incomparably well explained.

Neither shall I enlarge more upon our Observations that relate to the Beauty, Bigness, and Diversity of *Indian* Birds; for altho' that may be the finest part of the History of Animals, yet there has been so much said of it already in the foregoing Relations, that it would be to no purpose to speak to you of it more at large

But I cannot forbear now in the Conclusion to relate to you the greatest Curiosities which the Sea hath furnished us with. There are Fish whose Blood is as hot as *that* of a Man, others respire in the Air like other terrestrial Animals: We see some of them fly like Birds, that croak at the bottom of Waters like Toads, and bark like Dogs: some have Heads pretty like ours; they call them in *Siam*, *Mermaids*: in some certain ones the Flesh is so firm, that it nourisheth as much as Meat; in others it is so soft,

that it may not be so properly called Fish, as an indigestedness of slimy, gross, and transparent Matter, wherein no Organ is to be discerned, yet is it quick, it moves, and even swims methodically. In a word, Altho' the most part of them be good to eat, yet I have seen some that are poysonous, which infallibly lame the Fishermen when they can strike their Fins into them.

I forbear all the other Wonders of the Sea, that no ways come short of those in the Heavens and in the Earth, that I may speak more particularly of what we have learn'd of the Birth, Nature, and Fishing of Pearl. You may assure your self, that these are of that kind of Description upon which the Publick may rely; for we derive them from the Fountain head. This is what Father *Bouchet*, the Missionary of *Madure*, sent by the King into the *Indies*, left me his own self in Writing.

Men know well enough, that Pearls are engendered in a sort of Oyster found in the *Indies*, between Cape *Comarin* and the Chanel *de la Croux*, which occasioned the giving the Name *de la Pescherie*, or the Fishery, to the whole Coast: This fishing is exceeding chargeable, whether it be that it continues three whole months without any Intermission, or whether it be that they are sometimes fain to employ above an hundred and fifty Men therein all at once. So that before they engage in it for good and all, they begin upon tryal, from whence they can tell, more or less, what Profit they may possibly hope for. Now if the Pearls of the first Oyster be fair, big, and in great number, then the whole body of Fishers are in a readiness against the 15th of *March*, the time when the *Paravas* (People of that Coast) do always begin that precious fishing. In the last there were but eight hundred Barks, yet sometimes there are to be seen to the number of three thousand. At that time

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the *Hollanders* arm two *Pataches*, to convoy the Fleet and defend them from Pirates.

The Crew of each Bark consists of fifty or sixty Mariners, amongst whom there are twenty Divers, each of which hath his two Assistants, which for that Reason they call the *Fisher Assistants:* in fine, the Gain is distributed after the following manner; each Diver is bound to pay six Crowns to the *Hollanders*, which hath sometimes amounted to a Million. every eight days they fish one whole day for the profit of the Skipper of the Bark; the first Throw of the Nets is for him; they give the third part of what remains to the Assistants, the *Surplus* belongs to the Divers. But yet the *Hollanders* do not always give them leave to dispose of it as they please. So that these poor Wretches do often complain of their hard Fate, and bewail their Loss, when they think of the time they lived under the Dominion of the *Portuguese*.

When fishing time is come, this is the manner of the *Paravas*'s preparing themselves for it: The whole Fleet puts out to Sea as far as seven, eight, ten fathom Water, off of certain huge Mountains, which they discover far up in the Country; they have learn'd by experience, that this is the most commodious Latitude of the Coast, and the place where there is the most copious fishing.

Soon after casting Anchor, every Diver fastens under his Belly a good big Stone six inches diameter, a foot long, cut archwise on that side that is applied to his skin; they make use of it as Ballast, that they may not be carried away by the motion of the Water, and to go more firmly through the Waves: besides that, they tie a second heavy one to one of their feet, that presently sinks them to the bottom of the Sea, from whence they quickly draw it into the Bark by help of a small Cord: but because the Oysters are often fixed to the Rocks, they surround their fingers

with Copper Plates for fear of hurting them in pulling the Oysters with Violence: some others also use Iron Forks for the same purpose.

Lastly, every Diver carries a great Net, in fashion of a Sack, hung about his Neck by a long Rope, the End of which is fastned to the side of the Barks; the Sack is designed to receive the Oysters they pick up during the fishing, and the Rope to draw up the Fishers when they have fill'd their Sack.

In this Equipage they precipitate themselves, and go down into the Sea above sixty foot deep. Since they must lose no time, so soon as they touch the bottom they run to and fro upon the Sand, upon a slimy Earth, and amongst the craggy Rocks, snatching hastily the Oisters they meet with in their way.

At what depth so ever they be, the light is so great that they discern what happens in the Sea, as easily as tho' they were upon Land. They sometimes see monstrous Fish, from which the Christians defend themselves by crossing themselves; which hitherto hath preserved them from all Accidents. For as for who are *Mahumitans*, or Pagans, what shift soever they make by troubling the Water, or flying away, to avoid them, many have been devoured by them: and of all the dangers in Fishing, this is without all doubt the most ordinary and greatest.

In fine, the expert Divers remain commonly under Water half an hour, others are no less than a good quarter of an hour. They do no more but hold their breath, without using for that purpose, either Oil; or any other Liquor. Custom and Nature having indued them with that power, which all the Art of Philosophers hath not been able to this day to communicate to us.

When they perceive they can hold no longer, they pull the Rope to which their Sack is fastened, and tie themselves very fast to it by their hands. Then

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the two Assistants that are in the Bark hoist them aloft into the Air, and unload them of what they have got, which is sometimes five hundred Oysters, sometimes fifty, or an hundred only, according to their good, or bad luck. Amongst the Divers, some rest a little to refresh themselves in the Air; others do not require it, and incontinently plunge again into the Water, continuing in that manner this violent Exercise without respit, for they feed but twice aday, once in the Morning, before they put to Sea, and in the Evening when Night forces them to make to Shoar.

It is upon this Shoar where they unload all the Barks, and the Oysters are carried into a great many little pits digged in the Sand, about five or six Foot Square. The heaps they throw in rises sometimes to the height of a Man, and look like a company of little Huts, that one would take at a distance for an Army ranged in Batalia.

They leave the Oysters in this manner till such time as the Rain, Wind, or Sun forces them to open of themselves; which soon kills them, the meat corrupts and grows dry, and they pull out the Pearls very easily, so that they all fall into the Pit. According as they pull out the Mother of Pearl, so they call the Shells, on the outside like *those* of your common Oysters; but within more like Silver, and more glittering: the largest are near as big as your Hand; the meat is very delicate, and if the Perls there found be according to the Opinion of some Physicians, certain Stones that are bred by the ill Constitution of the Oysters Body, as it happens in Men, and in the *Bezoar*. This Distemper does not sensibly alter the humours thereof, at least the *Paravas* that eat of them find not any difference between those that have Pearls, and *those* that have none.

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When they have cleanſed the Ditch of its moſt groſs filth, they ſift the ſame over and over again, to ſeparate the Pearls from it. Nevertheleſs, what care ſoever they take, abundance of them are loſt, and altho' they return often thither, yet they ſtill find them in a pretty conſiderable number, ſome years after the fiſhing.

And this is all, Sir, that reſpects the Place, and ordering of this rich Fiſhing. I ſhall add ſome other particulars, that will ſerve more fully to inform you of the Nature and Quality of Pearls.

They are found ſcattered here and there in the whole ſubſtance of the Oyſter, in the Vail that covers it, in the circular Muſcles that terminate there in the Ventricle, and in general in all the Carnous and Muſculous parts. So that it is not probable that they be in the Oyſter, what the Eggs are in the Hen, and ſpawn in Fiſh. For beſides, that Nature hath not determined them any particular place for to be formed in. Anatomiſts who have carefully examined this matter, can diſcover nothing that hath any analogy with that which happens in reſpect of other Animals.

One may nevertheleſs, ſay that whereas there are in a Pullet, an infinite number of Eggs in form of Seed, one of which grow and augment, whilſt the others remain in a manner in the ſame State. So likewiſe in each Oyſter, may be commonly obſerved one Pearl bigger, better formed, which ſooner comes to perfection than all the reſt. But this Pearl hath no fixed place, and it is ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another. Yea, and it ſometimes ſo falls out that this Pearl becomes ſo big, that it hinders the Mother of Pearl to cloſe, and then the Oyſter dies and corrupts.

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The Number of the Pearls is no less indefinite, oftentimes all the meat of the Oyster is set thick with them, but it is a rare thing to find more than Two of them of any tolerable bigness.

They are all naturally White, more or less according to the Quality of the Mother. The Yellow and the Black are extraordinary Rare and of small Value; yet *Tavernier* reports, that he had Six of them given him in the Indies that were perfectly Black, resembling Jet, and much esteemed in the Country. If this Author doth not intend to impose upon us in this Point, as he doth in many others, perhaps he was deceived himself: however it is most certain, that all along the Coast of *La Pescherie*, they make no account of them, and the Fishermen themselves throw them away as good for nothing.

This variety of Colours is without doubt caused in the Pearls, by the different parts of the Oyster where they are formed; so that when Chance or Nature hath directed the Seed into the Misentery and Liver, or rather into the parts that are instead of them. (For there hath been observed in an Oyster a Cavity large enough, where are discovered two Overtures, that terminate at two small Membranes, where the Chyle is chiefly purified, and discharges it self of all its gross Particles; the Intestines of this Animal not being accompanied with Lacteal and Mesariac Veins.) When, I say, the part is incloſed in these Cavities, the Bile and impurities of the Blood may very well alter the natural whiteness, and make them either yellow or black, so likewise one may observe that these Pearls are not transparent, but sullied, and loaden with a gross substance.

As to what relates to their exteriour Form, it is sufficiently known, seeing they are as common in *Europe* as in the *Indies*. Their different Figure gives them different names; so we say, a Pearl in *Point*, or in

in *Pear*; *Oval* Pearl, *Round* Pearl, *Barroque* Pearl, that is, flat on one side and round on the other; one may add *Irregular* Pearl, for some of them are found with a many little Angles, gibbous, flat, and generally in all sorts of Figures.

Upon the whole, if it be a difficult thing to give an account how Pearls grow in Oysters, it is no less difficult to understand the manner how Oysters are generated in the Sea. Some say it fares with this sort of Fish as with all others, that produce Eggs, the exteriour substance whereof, soft at first, and viscous, grows hard at last by degrees, and turns to a Shell. What the *Paravas* have observed, and which I will inform you deserves to be carefully minded.

At the times when Rain falls, the Brooks of the adjacent Lands, that empty themselves all along the West, flow near two Leagues upon the surface of the Sea without mixing with it: This Water does thus swim above some time, keeping its natural colour, but it clots afterwards by the heat of the Sun, which reduceth it into a kind of light transparent Cream. Soon after it is divided into an infinite number of parts, every one of which seems animated, and moves up and down like so many little Insects. The Fish sometimes catch some of them as they float, but as soon as they taste of them they quickly leave them.

Of what Nature soever these Minute Animals may be, certain it is, that they Engender upon the surface of the Water; their Skin grows thick, hard, and becomes last of all so ponderous, that they descend by their own proper weight to the bottom of the Sea. The *Paravas* do moreover assure us, that they assume at last the form of an Oyster.

This is a System whereof the Vertuoso's did probably never dream, which Experience hath discovered to the Barbarians; and in effect, it is in these places

places only that Pearl is found, and the rainiest Years proveth likewise the best for Fishing.

I shall add moreover, to undeceive those who are wedded to that Opinion of the Ancients, that Oysters remain always at the bottom of the Sea. Formerly it was believed they rose every morning up to the surface of the Water, and that they open'd their *Nacre* or Shell to receive in the Dew of Heaven, which like a melted Pearl insinuated it self into the Meat of the Oyster; was fix'd by means of its Salts, and there at last assumed the colour, figure, and hardness of Pearls; not much unlike some certain Liquors that are transmuted into Crystals in the Earth, or as some Flowers are transformed into Honey and Wax in the Bee-Hives. All this is Ingenious and pretty: but the worst of it is, 'tis all false; for these Oysters are strongly fastened to the rock, and never did any Fisher see one to float upon the Superficies of the Water.

Notwithstanding, Pearls are found in several Places, yet *those* of *La Pescherie* are the most valued. for they never lose their Lustre; others turn Yellow, or of a Pale decayed White. As to the true Value, it is very hard to determin any thing for certain; the biggest of all that was found in the last Fishing, was sold but at Six Hundred Crowns.

I have sometimes asked the Divers, if they did not now and then find Coral at the bottom of the Sea; they answered, that they being for the most part busied in what concerns seeking for Pearl, took no great notice of any thing besides, that nevertheless, they found from time to time, Branches of Black Coral; there is some of it, added they, which altho' it be pretty hard at the bottom of the Water, yet becomes much more so, when it hath been some time exposed to the Air. But the greatest part of it hath acquired, even in the Sea, all its natural Hardness,

ness. It sticks fast to the Rocks, and when we cast Anchor in Foggy-weather, it often happens that our Anchor catches hold on some Branches of Black Coral, and brings along with it whole Trees; but it is very rare to find any Red Coral all along the Coast of *La Pescherie.*

I shall here make a Reflection that not many have made; *viz.* that the Coral-Tree hath no Root: Some of it was shown in *Rome*, in Father *Kercher's Musæum* that sprung out of several Stones; some of them have been after that pull'd away, and the Coral had not only no Root, but was not so much as tied by any Fibre, or any the least Filament whatsoever. There also was seen several Branches of Coral issuing from a *Nacre* of Pearl; and in Cardinal *Barbarin's* Closet, there is still to be seen a Shrub of Coral, whose Foot is Black, the Trunk White, and the very Top of all Red.

Thus doth Natu re, ir, disport her self in the great Abyss, as well as in the other parts of the Universe, by the Production of prodigious Numbers of Things equally Profitable, and Precious, which she bestows not to excite and irritate Mens Concupiscence, or to foment their sottish Pride; but to serve them for Ornaments, as Reason, and the Decency of every State requires, or permits.

Nay, perhaps, Sir, these Beauties of the Universe were created, not so much to adorn the Body, as to exercise the Mind: *Reliquit Mundum disputationi eorum.* For of all natural Pleasures, the most innocent, and substantial, without all doubt is the study of Nature, and the Consideration of the Marvels it contains in its Womb. When one hath once run over the Ground-work of Divine Wisdom, and penetrated into the Mysteries of it; this general View of so many Beauties, hath more powerful Charms, and begets in our Spirit, a more taking and affecting Image

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and Repreſentation, than all that the Senſes and Paſſions are ever able to preſent to us.

You know it, Sir, better than any Body; you I ſay, who by your particular Study, and your continual Correſpondence with the Learned, have acquired in ſo ſhort Time, ſo many Notions in all the different kinds of Erudition; and certainly, that conſtant Application that you every Day afford, in reference to the perfection of Arts and Sciences, ſufficiently declares that nothing can more profitably and pleaſantly take up the Time of a Gentleman and honeſt Man.

But what is ſtill more ſingular, you ſanctifie all this Knowledge, by the good Improvement you make of it. You bring it, I may ſo ſay, to the Sanctuary; you make uſe of it in the Pulpit of Truth, to make our Myſteries more intelligible, and not ſatisfied with the ordinary Phyloſophy and Eloquence, you do thereby become a Chriſtian Philoſopher, and an Evangelical Orator. I am with all reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt humble

and moſt obedient Servant.

L. J.

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